

A HISTORY OF
ITALIAN UNITY



PIEDMONT IN APRIL, 1859.



PIEDMONT IN AUGUST, 1859.



KINGDOM OF ITALY IN MAY, 1860.



KINGDOM OF ITALY IN NOVEMBER, 1860.

A HISTORY OF ITALIAN UNITY

BEING

A POLITICAL HISTORY OF ITALY

FROM 1814 TO 1871

BY

BOLTON KING, M.A.

'Now all these things happened unto them for ensamples

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CHAPTER XXIV

THE CONGRESS OF PARIS

1853-1856

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EACH successive difficulty seemed to leave Piedmont straggler. The year 1853 was full of trouble and distress; the cholera was raging, the phylloxera ruined the vine-crop, bad harvests and a commercial crisis brought widespread misery. The high taxes and clerical intrigues led to serious disturbances in the Val d'Aosta (December 1853), and a mob at Turin attacked Cavour's house and placed his life in momentary danger (October).¹ In spite of the boast that the finances had nearly reached equilibrium, new loans and new taxes came with every budget. But the abolition of the remaining duty on cereals alleviated the distress; the great majority of the Piedmontese were unshakable in their loyalty to the constitution, and when the Senate threw out Cavour's bill for the regulation of the national bank, and

¹ It was thought that he had shares in some mills, which were charged with cornering in wheat; on the whole I think he had not. See Cavour, *Lettere*, V. ccxx-cccxi; Castelli, *Cavour*, 15.

he, less deferential to them than of old, appealed to the country, the ministerial majority was returned, almost unimpaired (December). In spite indeed of the dearth, the prosperity of the country had made a solid advance. In the five years from 1850 to 1855 the imports nearly trebled, the exports increased by one half. The railways were being rapidly extended, and early in 1854 the line from Turin to Genoa, then unrivalled in Europe for mountain engineering, was opened. And notwithstanding distress and taxation and the never ceasing intrigues of the priests, the government stood stronger than ever in the country and in parliament.

Rattazzi had lately joined the Cabinet, and his adhesion marked its complete reliance on the Centre. The strength of the "Great Ministry"¹ encouraged it to new developments at home and abroad, to carry on the work of emancipation from the church, to rivet the French alliance. Early in 1855 the government brought forward the third great measure of ecclesiastical reform. The Siccardi Laws had destroyed the church's interference in the machinery of the law. The Civil Marriage Bill had aimed at liberating family life from clerical meddling. Since its temporary suspension there had been a lull in ecclesiastical legislation, though seminarists had been made partially liable to conscription in spite of the doubts of men like Lanza, who but prized the wisdom of an irritating measure, which had cloistered utility. The country as a whole acquiesced in the compromise of the civil marriage question, but was the education replacing the income of the church under state reduced, ^{azz}rising ^{gramento}). The government had promised the Centre ³⁵¹; Rattazzi's entry into the Cabinet that they would bill was called ³⁵²eries, redistribute clerical incomes, and But the clericals and hoping to repeal the subsidy paid by the exchequer to the with an equally such ³⁵³ XLIII millions, the kingdom had friendly correspondence 8,500 inmates a terrible misfortune came to Within a month he lost mother, and the clerics pointed to his affliction as the abrea divine displeasure. His mother had, it is said,

¹ D'Azeglio, *Il Governo di Piemonte e la corte di Roma.*

Belgium had one to 500 and Austria one to 610. The proportion of bishops was even greater, for an average diocese had 146,000 inhabitants, while in France it had 420,000, and in Belgium over 600,000. The income of bishoprics, chapters, monastic houses, and benefices without cure of souls exceeded 17,000,000 lire, and yet with all this wealth, more than half the parish priests had miserable stipends of less than 400 lire a year.¹ There was a general consensus that, especially in view of the straitened condition of the exchequer, the state subsidy² could not be justified. But this brought on the whole question of the relation of the state to the church's property. Those who were more tender to the clericals, or who like Cavour believed in a "free church," would have left it the undisturbed control of its own property, regarding the distribution of clerical incomes as a question for the church alone to regulate. On the other side were church reformers and anti-clericals, who wished to make the state the administrator of the ecclesiastical fund, and give it authority not only to suppress monastic houses, but reduce the number of dioceses and equalise clerical incomes. To such a policy Cavour was strongly opposed; a state-paid clergy, he argued, without families or private property, would become a caste, with no social links to bind it to society, and without interest in the order of the state, and a ^{had} national menace to it.³ But Cavour's arguments told as much ^{as} ~~as~~ ^{as} his the existing system, and he could not prevent some ^{of} the Pope's being taken. It was the price he had to pay for the ^{by King} of the Liberals, and the country, he knew, would submit to Austria than the priests." A government in financial difficulties, with a steady deficit ^{as} ~~as~~ ^{as} a step that pressing hard, could not resist the temporary policy. Cavour's the treasury by attacking the fat prey on the lines which one-fifteenth of the national income, ^{the} good-will of France, whose useless inmates swarmed ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ French would pour their D'Azeglio's government ^{to} ~~to~~ ^{to} drive Austria from Lombardy and and held out the ^{to} ~~to~~ ^{to} convinced himself that Piedmont alone ^{hope} ~~hope~~ ^{hope} for victory in an offensive war, and he

¹ Tivaroni

² See also *Politique de Cavour*, 67; Ghilardi, *Legge Vacca*, II. 23-24; Bianchi

³ Artois, II. 85; Massari, *Vittorio Emanuele*, 186.

refused his consent. But Pius was true to his policy of no compromise, and the later negotiations, through which Cavour still hoped to bring Rome to terms, only resulted in a fierce Encyclical (January 26, 1855), which branded the proposals as communistic, and threatened excommunication if they were carried out. D'Azeglio proudly replied to its charges of broken loyalty, and indicted the artificial conscience, which had stifled the natural conscience at Rome, and made the canon law of more weight than equity.¹ The government had already introduced the long-threatened bill (January 9). Going much further than D'Azeglio's earlier proposals, it suppressed all religious corporations, whether monasteries or benefices without cure of souls or chapters of collegiate churches, excepting chapters in the larger towns and certain scheduled houses devoted to education, preaching, or the care of the sick; and it levied a quotum on the revenues of bishoprics, the excepted monasteries, and richer benefices. The sums thus raised were placed in the hands of a government department, and after providing pensions for the disestablished monks and nuns and canons, were to replace the state subsidy and the Sardinian tithes, and raise the stipends of the poorer clergy. The buildings of the suppressed monasteries were to be devoted to secular purposes, provided the existing inmates were allowed to inhabit their convents during lifetime. Though the measure was a compromise, and public opinion would have liked at least to see first official houses included and the number of bishoprics war, but it was received with enthusiasm. In the Chamber excuse were and Left were unanimous in its support, and the second part carried by an overwhelming majority (March 2). 1854 onward were counting on the Senate and the King, ment, holding out at their tactics on the Civil Marriage Bill exchange Lombard, successful issue. The King had been in hinting that if Piedmont with Rome for a compromise, and Austria to occupy Alessandria strengthen his scruples. reasons for listening to the wife and brother, and and not Piedmont became their ally, mark of the isolated again; France and England would the reproached debt and irritated with herself. Cavour saw the policy was at stake; he responded even precipitately.

him on her deathbed for his government's attack upon the church, and while his conscience was still shaken with the recollection, the clerics laid an insidious bait before him. Led by the more moderate of their number, who had long been working to reconcile the government to Rome, the bishops offered to contribute provisionally from their own incomes a sum equivalent to the exchequer subsidy, on condition that the Dissolution Bill was dropped. The King was won, and Cavour resigned, probably knowing well that the intrigue must fail, and himself return to power with freer hands.¹ Giacomo Durando, the minister of war, tried to form a Cabinet, but the feeling of the country was roused to a pitch that made it impossible to find colleagues, who would share the responsibility. The King found his popularity compromised and Turin in a dangerous state of unrest. So strong was the excitement, that, had the crisis continued, riots and bloodshed were almost inevitable, and the King, solemnly warned by D'Azeglio of the risk he was running, recalled Cavour (May 3). Even now the danger was not over, and it was only by accepting amendments that excluded nearly half the monastic houses from the law, that Cavour passed it through the Senate by a narrow majority (May 29). Public opinion condemned the compromise, but Cavour had to choose between the amendments and a constitutional crisis, which might have shaken the throne and wrecked the foreign policy. The principle had been won, and he gave up excommunication had little heed paid to it either by the

or country. •

Their interest was absorbed in the moment. The government had taken in its foreign policy. The step aim was to push actively and strenuously advantages not obvious. D'Azeglio had indicated; to court the emperor, and it needed all that perchance some day the Emperor would lead his armies over the Alps to Italy; Bosio, *Villamarina*, 146-147; Massari, *op. cit.*, 159; Id., *La Venetia*. He had concluded that I do not believe in Farini's claims to could never hope; Farini, *Lettere*, xix; Badiali, *Farini*, 175-177;

¹ Bianchi, *Polanza*, 129-133; Bianchi, *Diplomazia*, VII. 546; Cavour, *Nuove Diplomazie*, 208.

had little faith in a popular rising. But right as he was in his prudent scepticism, he probably hardly foresaw how thorny was the path he had chosen, how great the temptation to trickery, how dangerous it was to place his country in the debt of an ambitious and unscrupulous ally. A finer conscience would have hesitated to ask the help of Louis Napoleon. But Cavour was no man to shrink from dubious means, so long as they led to the great goal. He had chosen to travel by diplomatic and not by revolutionary roads, and, the choice once made, he was impelled onwards by a fatal necessity. The war in the East forced him to make his decision. Hitherto there had been a good deal of coolness between Turin and Paris. The Emperor was not proof against the Viennese theory that Piedmont was a hiding-place for the incendiaries of Europe, and though he had little share in French sympathy for Rome, he did not dare to disown it. The war with Russia changed the position. The Allies were ready to buy or beg help from any quarter that offered, and above all were anxious to win Austria, who could paralyze a Russian advance in the Balkans. But Austria wished to keep her hands free, if she could do so with dignity, and she dallied with the proposals of the Allies, giving as one pretext that if she concentrated her army in the East, Piedmont would take the opportunity to fall on Lombardy. The Allies had from the first offered to guarantee her Italian frontier during the war, but they saw that the most effective answer to her excuse was to persuade Piedmont also to join the alliance and send part of its army to the East. From the first days of 1854 onwards they assiduously courted the Turin government, holding out hopes that Austria might be persuaded to exchange Lombardy for new possessions in the East, and hinting that if Piedmont hung back, they would allow Austria to occupy Alessandria. There were yet stronger reasons for listening to the Western Powers. If Austria and not Piedmont became their ally, Piedmont would be isolated again; France and England would be in her enemy's debt and irritated with herself. Cavour saw that his whole policy was at stake; he responded even precipitately to the

suggestion of the Allies, and proposed to send a contingent to the Crimea.¹ But though the King sided with him, he found no support for his scheme in the Cabinet, and Rattazzi and La Marmora threatened to resign. It seemed quixotic for Piedmont to waste in another's quarrel the strength, which she needed to husband for her own ambitions. But Cavour was content to wait, perhaps at times he had his own misgivings, and before the autumn had gone by, he had his colleagues with him. When in December (1854) France and England made a formal request for the alliance of Piedmont, the government decided to adhere on certain conditions. England was to lend at least a million sterling, but Piedmont was to rank as an ally and not as a subsidized mercenary; she was to take her place in any Congress that might be held after the war; the Western Powers were to bind themselves by secret treaty to make a fresh effort to get the Lombard sequestrations removed, and at the Congress take the condition of Italy into serious consideration. But they were terms, to which England and France would not accede; for Austria had just joined the Alliance, and they dared not alienate her. In spite of the hopes they had held out, they refused to include any pledges in the treaty,² and the ministry had to choose between unconditional alliance and isolation. The danger of the latter was now clearly recognised; the King intended to dismiss the ministry rather than give up the treaty; the Lombard refugees begged that the condition as to the sequestrations might be waived. Placed in the hard alternative, the ministry signed the one-sided treaty (January 9, 1855).

The Piedmontese public was much puzzled. The step seemed so novel and daring, the advantages not obvious. Few were really convinced of its wisdom, and it needed all

¹ Bianchi, *Diplomazia*, VII. 161-166, 169; Bosio, *Villamarina*, 146-147; Tavallini, *Lanza*, I. 144; Sclopis, *Cavour*, 471; Massari, *op. cit.*, 159; Id., *La Marmora*, 142; Chiala, *Dina*, I. 128. I do not believe in Farini's claims to have originated the idea; dates seem fatal to it: Castelli, *Cavour*, 53-55; Chiala, *Alleanza*, 29-38; Farini, *Lettere*, xix, Badiali, *Farini*, 175-177; Finali, *Contemporanei*, 274.

² Chiala, *Alleanza*, 129-133; Bianchi, *Diplomazia*, VII. 546; Cavour, *Nuove Lettere*, 206-208.

Cavour's personal ascendancy to carry it in the Chamber Piedmont had nothing to fear from Russian ambition, and could not fairly be called on to fight against the supposed common enemy of Europe, while Prussia was neutral and Austria inactive. It meant a loss of men and money, a heavy drain on the overtaxed state, the prospect of terrible sufferings for its soldiers from cholera and cold. It seemed fantastically strange that Piedmont should be ranged in the same camp as Austria, should help to prop the oppressor of the struggling Slavs. But all the country felt vaguely the danger of isolation, the possibility of territorial gain, the moral certainty that it would force the Powers to consider the condition of Italy. To give Piedmont a voice in the councils of Europe, to make her the honoured ally of the Western Powers and the acknowledged mouthpiece of Italy seemed worth a heavy sacrifice. Though the Left voted against the treaty with some misgivings and the Right with none, the Chamber approved it by 95 votes to 40 (February 10).

The summer of 1855 was an anxious time in Piedmont. No news of victory came from the Crimea, and failure meant the almost certain triumph of the clericals at home. The small Piedmontese force of 17,000 men played an inactive and unimportant part in the campaign, and the cholera made havoc in its ranks. But it performed well the task assigned to it of guarding the right of the Allies. Its excellent commissariat and ambulance were the more noteworthy, from their contrast with the disorganisation of the English supplies. La Marmora, who was in command, asserted his position among the allied generals with some excess of dignity; and when at last his men came into action in the valley of the Tchernaja (August 16), though the chief brunt of the fight was borne by the French, they did their part well and bravely. It was natural enough that at home the battle was magnified into a great Italian victory, and that Cavour boasted that the shame of Novara was wiped out. It was partly true that "the Crimea was the road to Lombardy," and the instinct of the nationalists told them, that the sacrifice of men and money (the campaign cost the Piedmon-

tese £3,000,000) was a cheap price to pay for the recovery of martial prestige.

But Piedmont had still to justify the cost by using its new honours to advantage. It was as "a pistol-shot in Austria's ear," that the alliance had been hailed in Italy. The laurels of the Crimea, as Cavour said, would help her destinies more than all the speeches and writings, that had pleaded her cause to a deaf Europe. Piedmont's wars and constitutional government had proved that "the Italy of Byron and Macaulay had passed away," that she had found courage and confidence and self-control. There seemed at length to have come a dawn of hope for the suffering states.

It was with good reason that Cavour had asked that the Powers should consider the condition of Italy. It was a story of rottenness and anarchy at Rome, of hard military despotism in Lombardy and Romagna, of sheer tyranny at Naples. At Rome even the petty programme of the *motu proprio* was a dead letter. The Council of State was seldom consulted, and only on minor matters. The Board of Finance attempted to assert its nominal right to pervise the budget, but the government harassed or ignored it, till year by year it sank into more utter insignificance. The repeated promises that all offices should be thrown open to laymen remained a dead letter. It is true that laymen held the great majority of subordinate posts, but every head of a department, except that of war, all the prefects, all the higher judges were ecclesiastics, and though at first three laymen were appointed to provincial delegacies, a spurious agitation secured the easy removal of all but one. Under the new municipal law the communal councils, though their powers were large, were tied hand and foot to the government, the franchise was confined to those who were "irreproachable in politics and religion," and a high property qualification kept them in the hands of a small oligarchy.¹ Even so the government was afraid to let the law work freely, and when

¹ Despatches—Lyons, 1, 19, 38, 60; *Histoire des états*, 26-27; *Sujet du Pape*, *Question romaine*, 17-18, 24, Rayneval's *Mémoire*; Farini, *La diplomazia*, 46.

ran high against the misrule in Rome and Naples. Hudson, the British Minister at Turin, lent all his great influence to assist and advise the Piedmontese government; Panizzi kept the Cabinet in touch with the Italian nationalists; and Lord John Russell and Mr. Gladstone felt a sympathy as true as, if cooler than, that of Palmerston. The English government was willing to bring its influence to bear on Ferdinand and the Pope, and would probably have liked to see the Legations go to Piedmont,¹ but Cavour knew that he would look to it in vain for practical help in Northern Italy.

The sympathy of France was at this time hardly less platonic, though the Emperor's restless schemings had long included the expulsion of the Austrians from Italy, and since the *coup d'état* he had several times hinted that some day he would lend his army to Piedmont. The war in the East had made the Austrian alliance a necessity for the time, but in the midst of the Crimean campaign he had threatened that if Austria and Prussia deserted him, he would recall his troops from the East and send them to the Rhine and Po. And though it was still his policy to keep on good terms with Austria, he hoped by friendly pressure to persuade her to withdraw her troops from Romagna, to cede Romagna to Piedmont, even, so he was utopian to believe for a moment, to exchange her Italian possessions for the Danubian Principalities. At all events he could act at Rome and Naples. He would do nothing indeed to alienate the Pope, for he already feared the hostility of the French Catholic Emperor and the Empress was resolved to have Pius for godfather to the Prince Imperial, but he was keenly anxious to extricate himself from his false position at Rome, and for this end to heal the misrule and discontent, that compelled the Pope to lean on foreign arms. He was ready to voice the disgust of civilized Europe at Ferdinand's tyranny, and he had his secret means of pressure in the intrigues that were being woven to place his cousin Lucien Murat on the throne of Naples.²

Encouraged by the Emperor and Clarendon, the English

¹ Cavour. *Nuove Lettere*. 225.

² See below, p. 25.

representative, Cavour pitched his hopes high in the early days of the Congress. He hoped to gain Parma or Massa-Carrara for Piedmont, and see Romagna made into an independent state or annexed to Tuscany or Modena.¹ But when Austria's absolute non-possumus wrecked his bigger projects, he changed his tactics, and in a memorial to the French and English Ministers (March 27) proposed Home Rule for Romagna and the Marches under Papal suzerainty and with something of a representative constitution. The project² had little to recommend it, for it left Umbria unaffected, and even D'Azeglio dubbed it "a pie-crust scheme." But Cavour must have recognized that Austria would no more accept it than his earlier proposals, and it served for a text on which to hang the Italian question and preach the hopelessness of reform under the Pope's government. The English and French Ministers had promised that when the main business of the Congress was over, opportunity would be given to discuss the condition of Italy, and Cavour's picture of the Roman and Neapolitan misrule, and his threats that till Italy had reform she would be a hotbed of revolution, had stirred a real anxiety to help. Prussia was friendly, Russia had "the same wrongs to avenge" on Austria. Before the Congress broke up, Walewski, the French Minister, introduced the case of Rome and Naples (April 8). His mild censures were followed by Clarendon's indignant indictment of the Pope's government as "a disgrace to Europe," and of Ferdinand's misrule as crying for the intervention of the civilised world.³ Angry words passed between him and the Austrian Minister, but the latter's refusal to consent to any vote deprived the discussion of practical issue. Cavour however had so far won his end, that the majority of the Congress were openly sympathetic, and he had obtained in a way an European condemnation of the misrule. To rivet the matter home, he addressed, as soon as the Congress broke up, a memorandum

¹ Cavour, *Lettere*, II. 170-174; D'Azeglio e Gualterio, *Carteggio*, 228.

² It was in the main a repetition of Aldini's scheme see above, Vol. I. p. 9.

³ Minghetti compared his attack to the charge of the Light Brigade.

to the French and English governments (April 16), pointing out the all-potent position of Austria in Italy and the difficulty of preserving peace in the face of her provocations. The gist of the memorandum was, as Mazzini noted, that if diplomacy could not secure reform, it should have revolution. Cavour in fact, irritated at the seeming fruitlessness of his endeavours, was seriously planning war. If no peaceful solution could be found, he threatened insurrection at Naples or Palermo and war to the knife with Austria, and he had convinced himself for the moment that Piedmont was ready for the conflict.¹ Clarendon had revised the memorandum, and some passing words of his Cavour misconstrued into a promise of English help; with that once secured, he was anxious to fight at once.²

As a matter of fact England was reverting to her traditional friendship with Austria, and was no more willing to come to extremities with her than France was willing to alienate the Pope. The Congress had brought no positive results for Italy; Cavour was deeply chagrined, and the opposition naturally taunted him with the seeming waste of the Crimea and the disappointed hopes. But, as all Italy recognised, the moral gain was enormous. The Italian question had advanced to a new plane. Austria was discredited by the cowardly part she had played during the war and her feeble defence at the Congress. The cause of Italy, as Cavour told the Chamber, "was before the bar of public opinion," and Piedmont was recognised by Europe as her advocate. When Cavour, returning from Paris, declared that the policies of Piedmont and Austria were more remote than ever, his words were received with passionate endorsement. Though he recognised by now that England was not prepared to fight, and that therefore immediate war was impossible, Piedmont was afire with war-fever, and the troops from the Crimea were welcomed home with a fervour, that was meant and taken

¹ Cavour, *Lettere*, II. 215, 217, 371; Bianchi, *Politique de Cavour*, 134.

² Bianchi, *Cavour*, 39-40; Id., *Politique de Cavour*, 159; Cavour, *Lettere*, II. 217, 222-223; Id., *Nuove Lettere*, 331; Minghetti, *Ricordi*, III. 107; Lords' Debate of February 17, 1862 (Hansard, CLXV. 350).

as a menace to Austria. After the Chamber had risen, the government spent a million lire on the new fortifications at Alessandria, knowing well that it need have no fear as to parliamentary indemnity; and a subscription, started by a popular Turin paper, to supply the fortress with 100 cannon brought in innumerable contributions from all Italy and Italians the whole world over.

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CHAPTER XXV

THE NATIONAL SOCIETY

1855-1857

Cavour's defects. Decline of the republicans, and denials. The new nationalists; Minin; THE NATIONAL SOCIETY; the "neutral banner"; the Society's propaganda; the conversion of Broletti; Cavour and the National Society; Victor Emmanuel; Garibaldi. Anglo-French intervention (1) at Rome; Reynaud's Memoir; the Pope's visit to Romagna; (2) at Naples. LUDOVICO MURAT, Cavour and Murat; the Unitarians and Murat. Plans of revolution in the South; Pisacane's expedition; the "Cagliari." Piedmont, 1855-1857; Lanza's Education Act; rupture with Austria; the elections of 1857; Rattazzi's resignation.

So far as his limited programme went, Cavour had practically won what he wanted. It is futile to conjecture whether, if Piedmontese troops had not fought in the Crimea, Napoleon would have attacked Austria four years later. Suffice it, that Cavour's action was leading straight to that. He had secured the good-will of France; it was his work that France and England were about to intervene, however feebly, at Rome and Naples. Sooner or later, he knew well, Louis Napoleon's ambitions would bring his armies over the Alps to drive the Austrians out. Public opinion recognised his success; and the Congress of Paris made Cavour dictator of Piedmont. He had a safe majority in the Chamber; the Senate, perhaps overawed by threats to create new senators, was compliant now; and throughout Italy he personified the policy, which promised redemption at no distant date. But Cavour's programme was too cold and opportunist to serve as a great word of advance. Splendid tactician as he was, he could not give the rallying cry. There was a danger that he would have no moral force behind him, no inspiration,

that would convert the national movement into a vital and organic evolution. Its march needed pioneers, principles, programme; and contemporaneously with the Congress a new party was springing into life, which was to supply the motor-power for his policy, by wresting the moral initiative from the republicans and giving it to the great Liberal party, which owned him as its leader.

The disastrous rising at Milan in 1853 had been the death blow to Mazzini's influence. The prestige of the Roman Republic had gone; the *coup d'état* had crushed the republicans of France; in Rome, in Naples, in Lombardy, his followers were deserting in mass to the nationalists, who looked to Victor Emmanuel and Cavour. Their leader still helped or organised the petty risings, whose day had past; still abounded in confident and numerous predictions, which generally proved wrong. But his phrases, once full of life, had lost their savour from over-repetition, or were found on analysis to have more rhetoric than substance. Henceforth Mazzini only hurt the cause he loved; but if he shut his eyes to the new spirit that now ruled Italian politics, his obstinacy is of higher stamp than the intolerance of Cavour and his followers, who banned the man who had taught them to believe in Italy. In England Mazzini would have been a great and generous and stimulating leader; in Italy he was condemned to sordid agitation and conspiracy, which wasted his great powers, twisted his common sense and common honesty, and made him more foe than friend of his own ideals.

Mazzini's decline was typical of much more than the fall of the republican party. It meant the close of the era, which had culminated in 1846-49, the era, whose ideas and inspirations, whether republican or royalist, were democratic, idealist, religious. It had been on the very threshold of success, but it had failed. Unarmed enthusiasm had proved powerless against the bayonets of standing armies. Not all the nobleness of the cause had saved it from suffering violence, and it had come nearest to success, when it had the help of an alien element, the

army and diplomacy of Piedmont. Undisciplined enthusiasm and advanced political speculation had had their day and failed, and in the early '50s the progressive party felt all the disillusionings of defeat. Though many of its leaders had belonged to the Democrats, they put behind them the ideals of the earlier movement. The new policy aimed at attempting less and achieving more. The social theories of Mamiani and Montanelli and Brofferio made way for the pure Liberalism of Cavour. The movement, that Mazzini and Gioberti and Pius had inspired, had been essentially religious: it had gone forth under the blessing of the church, and the volunteers had worn the cross on their breasts. Their generation praised God; the new generation thought more of keeping its powder dry. The former had had its poetry, its great literary works, its appeals to history; the latter wrote leaflets and pamphlets, and spoke through the press, which had come into power since 1847. The sweet thinkers, Tommaseo and Bassi and their kin, were silent; the heroic idealism had gone, and rationalism and science took its place. The new spirit was matter-of-fact, thinking more of the present than the future, fearful of pitching its hopes too high, quietly, cautiously laying the foundations, determined to go on no quixotic ventures, but slowly prepare, and only fight when the odds were on its side. Mazzini flinched from no sacrifice; he was ready to surrender the present convenience and happiness of the whole community, its family life, its trade, in a desperate struggle. The new movement shrank from the terrible and impossible appeal; but it put its faith in discipline, it was willing for the sake of union to sacrifice spontaneity, to be unfair to opponents, to crush minorities. It was resolved to have no more such divisions, as the feud between royalists and republicans, which had paralysed Lombardy in the summer of 1848, or the suspicions that had made the Conservatives half glad at the disaster of Novara. Eschewing all *a priori* politics, all constitutional questions, it proclaimed the King of Piedmont the one sole chief, its constitution the model for all Italy, its army the only instrument of redemption.

In one respect indeed Mazzini's ideals had triumphed. Half the leading men of Italy had been nurtured on his writings, and though they had shed their republicanism, they assimilated more and more his faith in an united Italy, and again and again we find his phrases repeated by Manin. Circumstances had made the movement of 1847-49 federalist. Unity had been at the best the pious hope of a few; hardly a politician of repute had committed himself to it, and the league of princes had been the symbol of the imperfect national union. Now, whatever the Piedmontese government and press might profess, and however distant the ultimate triumph might seem, Unity under the House of Savoy was coming to be the ambition of the great mass of Italian patriots. And alike among the Unitarians and the narrower Piedmontese school the conviction was gaining, that the quiet patient work of reconstruction must soon make way for a more active policy, that the time was approaching when another cast must be made to fulfil the nation's destinies.

In a sense Gioberti was the father of the new school. As his "Primacy" had created the New Guelfs, his "Civil Regeneration" was the precursor of the new Unitarians. But Gioberti had expressed the thoughts of others rather than his own, his faith in Piedmont was more of rhetoric than fact, and when he died in 1852, his traditions passed into the hands of two men of much staidier and more sterling worth. Giorgio Pallavicino was a Lombard noble, who for fourteen years had been Pellico's fellow-prisoner in the Spielberg. He had come to Piedmont with the Lombard emigration of 1848 a convinced republican, but Piedmontese environment and his somewhat close relations with the King had made him a royalist; and it was he who had inspired Gioberti's panegyric.¹ But he was now as always a pronounced radical, perennially fresh and hopeful, with no great measure of political wisdom, strongly drawn by Garibaldi's honest impulsiveness, and distrusting Cavour's more cautious statesmanship; a candid, honourable veteran, whose good word went for much. His fellow-pioneer was Manin. After the

¹ See above, Vol. I., p. 403.

fall of Venice Manin had taken refuge at Paris, stricken by poverty and the loss of his daughter. But commanding the deference of the exiles there by the nobleness of his life, Manin had the rarest gifts of statesmanship; he had a Cavour's breadth and accessibility to facts, his opinions were as bold, his economic view, his standard of morality higher. Cavour might sway people by their reason, Manin could touch their hearts. Like Pallavicino, and at his instance, he had renounced republicanism. Italy, he recognized, had "two living forces, Italian public opinion and the Piedmontese army," and the latter must be gained by organising the former and through it compelling Victor Emmanuel to put himself at the head of the nationalist movement. His work therefore was to fix the floating nationalist sentiment, which was more and more turning to Piedmont, which had watched her constitutional development and struggle with the Papacy, had applauded her protest against the sequestrations, her alliance with the Western Powers, and, though with hopes temporarily dashed by the abortive issue of the Congress, still recognized that she was the champion of Italy, irrevocably committed to a policy of national redemption. Their propagandism found its organiser in La Farina, the historian and ex-minister of Sicily in 1848. Honest, unselfish, energetic, a quiet persistent worker, who for three years wrote all the correspondence of their Society with his own hand, he was a man capable of accomplishing much, except when his partisanship overcame his judgment and subordinated policy to pique. Undeterred by the indifference of politicians and the press, they founded the "National Society," with the motto of "Independence and Unity: out with the Austrians and the Pope." It was the first organisation outside the ranks of the revolutionists, that placed an united Italy in the front of its programme. Opposed alike to the pure Mazzinian, who preferred the republic to Italy, and the pure Piedmontese, who would sacrifice Italy to Turin, they promised loyalty to the House of Savoy, but only on condition that the King accepted the policy of unity; and they threatened another flag, if he hung back. "Make Italy," Manin wrote

to him, "and we are with you: if not, not." As the King's sympathies became more declared, they rallied strongly to him. "Unity, Independence, Victor Emmanuel King of Italy," these were their only formulas, and they welcomed all who accepted them, whatever their other differences.¹

It is necessary even at the present day to repeat the argument for Unity. It is perhaps sufficient apology that the irresistible current of opinion set towards it, that on principles of nationality and democracy, if the Italians desired Unity, it was right and inevitable that they should have it. But there was much to urge besides the argument of sentiment. Federalism, their opponents said, would bring a substantial economic and social gain; it would destroy the customs-barriers, it would give common coinage and weights, and permit an uniform and reformed law. It would have brought a show of diplomatic and military union; it might have quickened the mutual relations of the states, and created something of a moral unity. But federalism was impossible. A federation of ancient and monarchical states is only workable, where one member of the confederation is so predominant in power that it can impose its policy on the whole body. Even if Piedmont had gained all North Italy, it would still have had no such preeminence over Naples as to preclude a struggle for mastery. And in Italy federation had its special difficulty in the Temporal Power, for, whatever may have been possible in 1848, it was clear that after the Reaction the Pope would never come into a system, which meant constitutional liberties and a limitation of his own independence. A federation, now as in 1848, would have been the arena of rival and divergent policies, which would have reduced Italy to impotence, and worked its own speedy dissolution. Unity of course had and still has its dangers in the gulf between North and South, the chance that the South may drag the North down to its own lower level, the mischief worked by an irritated and irrecon-

¹ Manin e Pallavicino, *passim*; Zini, *Storia, Documents I.*, 606-608. At first at all events Manin would not have excluded federalists, and preferred the formula "unification" to "unity." See his letter to the *Pres e* of December 14, 1855, quoted in Chiala, *Dina*, I., 161.

cilable Pope and clergy the temptation that comes to a great Power to neglect humbler and more real duties for unprofitable ambitions. It is easy to demonstrate that an united Italy has had its disappointments; it would be easier to prove that a divided Italy would have had more. Italy, burdened with the evil heritage of the past, has done much in one generation; it is futile to speculate how much more she might have done. Not only has Unity been the only alternative to the old intolerable heptarchy, but on its own merits its advantages outweigh its losses. The same economies that make for large production and dense population, make materially and spiritually for large nations. The concentration of force, the pride of citizenship, the larger air of a great state count for more than the somewhat snug and sordid prosperity of a little country. Trade and society depend largely on uniformity of law, and uniformity would be impossible where the central executive was liable at every move to be thwarted by its subordinate executives. If the North of Italy has suffered temporarily from contact with the South, it is necessary even for it that the South should be lifted from its degradation. And Italy's secular enemy at Rome is more impotent to wound, than if it had the jealousies and rivalries of half-a-dozen little courts and little capitals to play upon.

Manin was confident that the republicans would follow him into the new camp; and alienated from Mazzini hopeless of their own policy, they flocked over, some of them hitherto uncompromising enemies of the monarchy, others who like Valerio and Depretis, had long venerated their republicanism with a belief in the constitution of Piedmont. Manin hoped to win Mazzini; but the utmost concession he could obtain was a revival, under the new name of the "neutral banner," of the old promise to drop for the time all programmes beyond independence and leave the future government to be decided by the parliament of the freed nation. Mazzini had rare fits of trust in the King; he admitted now that the Austrians could only be driven out by the Piedmontese army;¹ he

¹ Mazzini, *Opere*, IX. lxxxiii.

began to see that his generous dream of a people thirsting to spring at the Austrian's throat was but an illusion. But he believed that Piedmont would never stir till forced by an outside movement, and that if insurrection began in Naples or Sicily or at Carrara, Victor Emmanuel and his army would be forced to step in and support the revolutionary rising. His position was plausible enough on the surface, but Manin and Pallavicino objected that the neutral banner would be inevitably a cloak for the autonomist spirit everywhere, for Murattism at Naples, separatism in Sicily, the republic at Genoa and Rome. It meant the divisions of 1848 over again and the triumph of federalism. Victor Emmanuel and his government were hardly likely to look kindly on a programme, which left itself free to throw them aside when the work was done. And Mazzini himself, while appealing for compromise in the name of union, was proclaiming his deep distrust in the King and his conviction that Italy was destined to be a republic.¹ A bitter dispute between him and Manin, who had charged him with advocating assassination,² turned Mazzini into an angry opponent of the National Society. In rivalry with the fund for the cannon of Alessandria, he appealed for subscriptions to purchase 10,000 rifles "for the first Italian province, that rose against the common enemy."

Mazzini's opposition did little injury to the Society. An energetic propagandism, taking the Anti-Corn-Law League for its model, carried on the work, which had been fitfully begun. The Piedmontese party was already strong in North Italy, and breaking ground elsewhere. Gioberti's influence and Prati's poems had done much to counteract Giusti and Berchet, and win Italy to the House of Savoy. Victor Emmanuel's loyalty and Cavour's statesmanship were doing more, and in Lombardy and Venetia and the Duchies the National Society carried all before it. In Tuscany the Liberal autonomists were still powerful, but their influence was already waning, the bulk of the Mazzinians came over to the Society, and young Tuscans began to enlist in the

¹ Manin e Pallavicino, 186-189, 540-543; Mazzini, *Opere*, IX. 254-255.

² See below, Appendix B.

Piedmontese army. Ricasoli was looking for "the great times that were coming," and preaching revolution and unity. In Romagna the Society made steady headway, though Moderates, like Minghetti would still have contented themselves with Home Rule and it had to fight the exploded Carbonaro tradition, that wanted formulas and secret oaths and a big paper programme of reform. In Rome itself the bulk of the Mazzinians joined it. In Naples and Calabria and the Basilicata its influence was considerable through the Piedmontese party that already existed there and the semi-attached "Society of Italian Unity." In Piedmont, where most might have been hoped for, the new gospel at first made little ground. The National Society had carried the programme altogether beyond the North Italian Kingdom, which till now had marked the limit of subalpine ambition. The balance of power would shift to the centre, and not even Milan, much less Turin, but Florence or Rome would be the future capital. The whole movement seemed to smack of Mazzini's utopias, and from Della Margherita to Brofferio the politicians had no good word for the Society.¹ Save for one unimportant journal, the press of every shade conspired to silence. And while the war fever was still high, while the Alessandria fortifications and the new arsenal at Spezia were hailed as the prelude to a struggle for Lombardy, the same public looked askance at the men who pointed to Sicily and Rome.

The government reflected this suspicion of the bigger programme. Cavour's policy, when the excitement of the Congress had passed, dropped again into its old watchful, cautious grooves. Its keynotes now and later were to adhere at all costs to the French alliance, and for this to keep clear of revolutionary taint and be content to wait; to put down the republicans and capture the national movement for the monarchy; to push on others to break fresh ground, and only follow if they succeeded. So far as he could travel without risking the Emperor's friendship, he would go; he refused, despite the King's excessive

¹ Manin e Pallavicino, 181, 212, 258; Zini, *Storia*, I. 839; Chiala, *Dina*, I. 159-161, 201.

anxiety, to yield to the Pope on essentials; he was ready to pick quarrels with Tuscany and Parma, and though he offered to resume diplomatic relations with Austria, if the initiative came from her, he would make no advances himself. But when his policy threatened to cross the Emperor's path, he was careful to beat time. Much as he disliked it, he refused to oppose, at least officially, the claims of Lucien Murat to the Neapolitan throne.¹ "All our ambitions," he said at the end of 1856, "are limited to this side of the Apennines."

But this was merely an official statement of his present policy. He intended to prepare the ground for a bolder advance, should circumstances allow. "I have faith," he told La Farina in the same year, "that Italy will become a single state with Rome for its capital."² He welcomed the National Society, not only as an antidote to republicanism, but because it was willing to take the risk of a harder programme. But he was ignorant of the movement that was going on outside Piedmont, and doubted whether Italy were ripe for Unity. The "fatal dualism" of his position compelled him to pose before Europe as the enemy of revolution, while he was using revolutionary instruments. As he said at a later time, his "compass was public opinion": and if the National Society could create a force in Italy, which would enable him to dispense with the Emperor and lead the revolution to save the throne, well and good. He was "waiting for accidents"; "it is useless," he said, "to make plans, all depends on an accident, and then we shall see if we can take opportunity by the forelock";³ in the meantime for the sake of the country he must not compromise the government or himself. He gave no support to Bentivegna's rising in Sicily,⁴ he refused to countenance any revolutionary movement in Tuscany, he helped to suppress the Carrara rising, and harassed the subscription for the 10,000 rifles. But this did not prevent him from giving secret encouragement to the men in the van; at

¹ See below, p. 36.

² La Farina, *Epistolario*, II. 426; Mme. Rattazzi, *Rattazzi*, I. 338.

³ Castelli, *Carteggio*, I. 158.

⁴ See below, p. 38.

daily secret interviews with La Farina he soon came to direct largely the operations of the National Society. He saw Garibaldi and told him to make others hope. He held out prospects of ultimate action in Tuscany and perhaps in Romagna;¹ he encouraged the annexationist movement in Sicily and Panizza's scheme for liberating Scutendri and his fellow-prisoners.² Even Mazzini confessed that he "was Italian at the bottom of his soul."

In the earlier days, however, of the National Society, before he had disclosed himself to La Farina or learnt the strength of the movement, he seemed the mere political sceptic, "laughing at everybody and everything"; his dislike of programme-makers made him half-contemptuous of the Society's amateur politics. Pallavicino, to whom the French alliance was abomination, distrusted him and wanted to overthrow him, strangely expecting that Manin would succeed him as premier. "To hope to make Italy with Cavour," he wrote, "is absurd." But Manin's calmer judgment knew that if the National Society could convert public opinion, Cavour would follow, and that the better policy was to force his hand, and compel him to come boldly over to the flag of unity. But Manin, in common with the rest of the forward school, was too puzzled by Cavour, too suspicious of his policy, to place his main reliance in him. He thought more of winning the King. Victor Emmanuel's more expansive and direct nature led him into expressions of sympathy, from which Cavour was careful to abstain. Though Cavour's sympathies with the national movement were as real, the King's were more impulsive, more impatient, more easily guided into the path of big ambitions. A soldier by every instinct, hating Austria with his whole soul, he looked eagerly forward to the day of war and revenge. "If you do not begin soon," he told Pallavicino, "I will."

But though Victor Emmanuel might be the figurehead of the movement, it needed its popular hero, and Pallavicino

¹ La Farina, *loc. cit.*; Cavour, *New Letters*, 337; Canth, *Cronistoria*, III. 126; Manin e Pallavicino, 172. I much suspect the accuracy of Mazzini, *Opere*, IX. 352; a year later Cavour "would shoot Mazzini if he could."

² See below, p. 34.

knew that he could find him best in Garibaldi. The fame of his valour in Montevideo and at Rome, his generous direct nature, in which mingled the democrat and the gentleman, the faith in his supreme courage and genius of generalship made him still the idol of Italy. His clear sincerity, the benignant good-nature that shone in his face, his perfect grace and strength of body gave him the magnetism, that made men ready to follow him to any danger, and proud to put their lives and wills in his keeping. Not Cavour's wisdom, not Mazzini's high idealism and long patient work could give the fascination, which Garibaldi's heroism had won. In private life he was no saint. His intellectual power was small; as D'Azeglio said, he had "a heart of gold but the brains of an ox." His political conceptions were elementary; his mind was a chaos of noble ideas, his resolutions came at haphazard, sometimes to die away as quickly, sometimes to stay with a stubbornness that took no account of facts; his methods were often effective in their simplicity and directness, but had no mark of balance or big outlook. He came with difficulty to a decision, where the arguments were evenly balanced, or where opposing influences were brought to bear on him. His was a nature that learnt little, and forgot or forgave little; really honourable at bottom, he would yet break promises lightly or sacrifice truth to passion; personal flattery, personal pique always weighed much in his undisciplined mind. But when once roused, he was decisive, rapid, resolute. His instinct was to go straight to his point or not at all; subtlety, patience, management savoured to him of finesse; the arduous work of preparation and detail was always irksome to him; he preferred a dictatorship to parliamentary government. But his very impatience was akin to the directness, the hatred of trickery and diplomacy, which was an essential part of his hero nature. His intense sympathy with every form of suffering, his eagerness to succour the oppressed, his deep reverence for Christ's teaching,¹ that went hand-in-hand with a fanatical hatred of priests, made him the knight-errant of forlorn causes and downtrodden peoples.

¹ Vecchi, *Garibaldi*, 238.

He was a tremendous but ungoverned force, capable of epoch-making heroisms, capable too of immense selfishness.

He had been banished from Piedmont by D'Alelio in 1849; four years later he was allowed to return and settled at Caprera, a rocky islet off Sardinia to the solitary farmer's life he loved so dearly. He was still a republican with a consuming hatred of Austria and still more of the Pope, but everything conspired to draw him towards the new school. His old dislike of Mazzini was still strong, he had nothing of the conspirator, no taste for the forlorn enterprises of the great agitator. Though supremely brave, he was no would-be martyr, but a soldier with a strong liking for victory. Like many another republican, he had come to believe in Victor Emmanuel, and more or less in Cavour; and though somewhat suspicious that the government did not mean business, he saw that the army and treasure of Piedmont were necessary for the war, for which he fretted. He was ready to fight Austria "with any ally, even the devil himself, if the devil were anti-Austrian." Busily beleaguered by La Farina's agents, he joined the Society in the summer of 1856; but the republicans would not loose their hold of him without a struggle, and it was only after a year of wavering that he signed its manifesto.

While the National Society was preparing for the final solution of a future day, the populations of the South were crying for some more early if partial relief. And it was not so much to the direct help of Piedmont, as to the Powers, whose sympathy Cavour had enlisted, that they looked. England would do nothing to help Northern Italy, but both she and France were morally pledged to interfere at Rome and Naples. Sometimes the Emperor half took courage to withdraw his troops from Rome and compel Austria, by force if necessary, to evacuate Romagna, more often he was under the bondage of the Empress and the clericals, and muttered mild pleas for reform.¹ Clarendon, whose hands were freer, used strong words about the misrule, but Antonelli adroitly retorted that the excitement

¹ Bianchi, *Diplomazia*, VII. 278, 307; Minghetti, *Ricordi*, III. 155.

caused by the Congress made concession difficult, and hoped to parry the Emperor's plea by an apology, which was probably drafted by himself,¹ but had the signature of Rayneval, the French minister (May 1856).² But Rayneval's disingenuous memorial failed to convince the Emperor; his cousin Pepoli of Bologna, a grandson of Murat, controverted Rayneval's facts, and Napoleon, recalling his minister, used firmer language to the Pope. For a moment he was inclined to advocate Home Rule for Romagna and the Marches; and though he softened his demands to an amplification of the programme of Portici, Antonelli saw that he must make a show of concession. A reformed criminal code was printed, though it was never published; the railway to Civita Vecchia was commenced; the Austrians were persuaded to reduce their army of occupation to the garrisons at Bologna and Ancona. To convince Europe how much his government was maligned, the Pope went on a lengthy progress through Romagna (May–August 1857), and the officials were carefully prompted to prepare loyalist demonstrations. But the Liberals had laid their counter-mines in concert with Cavour and Hudson; the communal councils prepared petitions for reform, and when the government, scenting the project, forbade the councils to meet, unofficial memorials took their place. The Pope was received respectfully but very coldly: at Perugia he was greeted with cries of "Bread and the Statute"; at Bologna the archbishop was hooted by the students. Some of the Moderates, half won by Pius' courtesy and pathetic gentleness, tried to persuade him to the one course that could save his rule; but he had convinced himself that the mass of the people did not want reform, and that concession would lead to ultra-democracy and attacks on the church. He thought that Mazzini preached massacre and rapine, and his dread of the agitator was only excelled by his intense anger against the "vulpine" Turin government. When at last he was half won over, he mournfully con-

¹ Salvagni, *Corte romana*, III. 318.

² Cavour got hold of a copy and sent it to the *Daily News*, which published it on March 29, 1857: D'Azeglio e Gualterio, *Carte ppi*, 239.

by declaring war. Even when the deportation scheme broke down, they declined to go beyond the suspension of diplomatic relations. Clarendon was 'ready to do anything rather than allow it to be thought that he encouraged revolutionary tendencies.

Napoleon was hardly so prepared to sacrifice consistency and humanity, but now, as ever, he preferred to travel by tortuous paths. There was living at Paris Lucien Murat, son of King Joachim, an idle, cowardly, incapable man, but whose parentage gave him special claims on Naples, while his consinship to the Emperor made him an obvious puppet for the Imperial policy. He had as tutor to his sons, Saliceti, Ferdinand's ex-minister of 1848, and at Murat's incitement Saliceti published a pamphlet¹ to test whether Murat would attract any following at Naples if he appeared as a candidate for the throne. It made a skilful appeal to the nationalists by suggesting a partition of Italy between Naples and Piedmont which should exclude Austria and the Dukes, and leave only Rome and the Cambray to the Pope. Though the Emperor publicly disclaimed responsibility for the pamphlet and suppressed its circulation, there seems little doubt that he was secretly encouraging Murat,² and the scheme was all in keeping with his policy of planting Napoleonic princes on Italian thrones. The claimant had in fact a considerable chance of success. The whole country, except the *lazzaroni* of Santa Lucia, was praying for Ferdinand's fall. But the Unitarians were weak, Cavour had discouraged any annexationist programme at Naples, and the feeble Liberals would make no serious effort of themselves. There was an obvious immediate gain in accepting Murat, for it promised an early respite from the tyranny. England and France would gladly see the Bourbons driven out, but would countenance no movement towards unity, and though England was suspicious of French designs at

¹ So probably, though D'Ayala, *Mémoires*, 262 assigns it to Francesco Trinchera.

² Cavour, *Letters*, VI, 42, 41; *Id.*, *New letters*, 329, 409; Bianchi, *op. cit.*, VII, 329-330; Nicot, *Ferdinando II*, 327; Mazzini, *Opere*, IX, cxxviii; contra, Veroli, *Pejori*, in *Bull. Eur.* XXVIII, 403; Minghetti, *op. cit.*, III, 156; Gravilla Mendes, VIII, 62. See below, n. 48.

Naples she would probably content herself with securing independence for Sicily. Murat promised the necessary material support of France, and it was a promise of this that won him a large section among the nobility and the Moderate exiles at Paris and Turin. As first Master of the Freemasons, he was likely to secure the support of their organisation, which was powerful both at Naples and Palermo, and though 'Muratism' seems to have made little headway in the provinces it was strong in the capital where the appearance of a French fleet in the bay would probably have rallied to the pretender the multitudes that were ready to side with the strongest. Even at Sicily he had a few adherents.

Cavour himself was carried more or less with the stream. He did not like the project, he would give Murat no assistance and stirred up English jealousy. But when after long doubt he convinced himself that the Emperor was at Murat's back he dared not openly thwart him. 'Murat is a bad solution,' he wrote, 'but it is the only one that can succeed, and we must submit with a good grace.' Once he seems to have hoped to win Ferdinand to a national and liberal policy; but when the short-lived delusion died, and he knew too that there was no likelihood of an unitarian movement at Naples he felt that he could not oppose anything which "put Italian Independence on its flag" and promised to free Naples from her misery. He no doubt counted on Murat's alliance against Austria, and perhaps hoped that English influence would allow him to annex Sicily in the event of a Bourbon downfall.

But while Cavour was thinking chiefly of the coming struggle for Northern Italy the Unitarians were seriously alarmed by Murat's plans and their probable consequences. If Murat once reigned at Naples it would be difficult, if not impossible, to dispossess him; for even if Sicily declared for

¹ Cavour, *Lettere*, II. 391; VI. 41-42; *Ibid.*, *Neve lettere*, 32, 33, 34, 36, 40, 41, 418, 426, 554; Bianchi, *Cavour*, 40-47; *Ibid.*, *L'Autographe de Cavour*, 109, 111, *Diplomazia*, VII. 329; Mann e Pallavicino, 135, 160; Minghetti, *Ricordi*, III. 386. For other views of Cavour's policy see Veroli, *op. cit.* vol. I, 403, and Cavour, *Lettere*, II. cxvii.

annexation to Piedmont, on the mainland Murat would have behind him not only the support of France, but all the antipathy to the North, which, under a Liberal rule, would carry the mass of the population into opposition to unity. Manin contended that Murat on the throne would by force of circumstances become the rival of Victor Emmanuel, and therefore openly or secretly the ally of Austria. All who cared for unity realised that the pretender's success meant the indefinite postponement of their hopes. The best of the exiles protested, the political prisoners declared that they "would rather die in prison than stretch out their hands to this foreign adventurer." Manin prayed the Neapolitans to rely upon themselves. Mazzini, solicitous to defeat at once Manin and Murat, was planning a revolution, which, beginning in Naples or Sicily, would spread through the peninsula, and sweep away Ferdinand and Pope and Austrians. All parties realised how hopeful a seedbed of revolution the Bourbon rule had made. In Sicily the old separatist party was almost dead, and made room for a policy that would merge the people in the common body of Italians. To the revolutionists Sicily was "the island of initiative," the "starting-point for Italian Unity." For five years past Niccola Fabrizi, the brave, gentle, self-sacrificing pupil of Mazzini, had been busily organising from Malta the elements of discontent and aspiration, and Crispi since his expulsion from Genoa in 1854 had been strenuously assisting. Mazzini and Garibaldi discussed an expedition to rouse the island to revolt, but Garibaldi would consent to go only if Cavour promised to cooperate, and though Cavour seems at first to have promised funds, he soon drew back.¹ But he had his own plans of annexation;² and La Farina was organising the Piedmontese party in the island, and half persuaded Palmerston to allow the Anglo-Italian legion to land there on its return from the Crimea.³ It was as a result of Crispi's work, that towards the end of 1856 the young Baron Benti-

¹ Mario, *Mazzini*, 368, 372; *Id.*, *Garibaldi*, 436; *Ordo, I mdo*, I. 153-154.

² Cavour, *Lettere*, II. 215; Bianchi, *Politique de Cavour*, 134; La Farina, *Epistolario*, II. 28. See La Masa, *Fatti*, II. and the curious story in Greville *Memoirs*, VII. 293.

³ La Farina, *op. cit.*, I. 550; II. 30. See also Villari, *Corporazioni*, 292.

vegnas raised the tricolor near Termini on the coast that England and France would intervene in his support. But his appeal to the Sicilians found little response, and Bentivegnas was hunted down and shot. But though the Liberals stood aloof, probably thinking the rising premature, their Committee of Order had its agents and secret police active through the island. A more formidable conspiracy was maturing on the mainland. It was generally agreed that a rising in the capital had no hope of success. But the Liberals of the Basilicata and parts of the Capitanata and Puglia were well organised and ready to put at least several hundred armed men into the field. Murat had no following here, and the Mazzinians and Padmonese party were working well in common. They had convinced themselves, and the events of four years later justify their belief that at the first success a large number of the native troops would come over to them. How intense was the hatred of the Bourbons was shown a month after Bentivegnas's rising when a Calabrian soldier, Agesilao Milano, envious of classic tyrannicide, attempted the King's life at a parade (December 8, 1850), and but for Ferdinand's coolness the Swiss and native troops would have fired on one another. Milano had no accomplices in his plot, but within another month two explosions, which can hardly have been accidental, wrecked a powder magazine close by the palace and a frigate anchored in the bay. Even Ferdinand's own brother and uncle were in correspondence with the Liberals.

It was the knowledge of the disaffection that encouraged Mazzini to action. He himself, it would seem, was more eager to start a revolutionary movement at Genoa and Leghorn.¹ But he decided to connect it with a scheme which had been combined between the Liberals of Naples and the Basilicata and a few of the Neapolitan and Sicilian exiles at Genoa. Carlo Pisacane, a Neapolitan duke, a man of highest character but crude and sanguine mind, in politics a revolutionary socialist, intended with a few followers to take passage on board the *Cagliari*, a steamer plying between Genoa and Sardinia, seize the vessel when

¹ Mazzini, *Opere*, XI. xxix; De Monte, *Sopra*, xci, 53, 58.

at sea, make for the penal settlement of Ponza off Gaeta, and releasing the convicts there, land with them at Sapri in the Gulf of Policastro where they would join hands with the insurgents of the Basilicata and advance on Naples. Meanwhile the Genoese democrats were to seize the city and forts, and send him reinforcements. The conspirators denied any intention of upsetting the government at Genoa, and many of them no doubt intended no more than to find arms and men for the expedition, but to all purposes, and probably in Mazzini's deliberate intention, it was a republican revolt.¹ Under any light the Genoese part of the plot was a mad scheme, fatuous in its conception, ill-directed in its execution, and the saner democrats like Garibaldi and Bertani were careful to hold aloof. Pisacane's project had more hope of success, and though the conspiracy was confused for the moment by the terrorism that followed Milan's attempt it only needed one real shock to bring down Ferdinand's crumbling rule. Pisacane was successful in seizing the *Capra* (June 25, 1857) but his release of 400 refractory soldiers and common criminals at Ponza² discredited the expedition. When he landed at Sapri, he found the Basilicata, thanks to his own carelessness, quite unprepared, and the peasantry of the Principato roused to fanaticism against the men, who were justly painted as marauders. After weary wanderings in the neighbourhood of Cilento, Pisacane's little band, outnumbered and disillusioned, was borne down by the militia and armed peasantry at Sanza. Pisacane fell with half his men, and the survivors came into the clutches of Ferdinand's judges. Meanwhile the plots at Genoa and Leghorn had ended in futile scuffles and aimless loss of life, and the Piedmontese government proceeded with a severity hardly less than Ferdinand's against the arrested conspirators. The folly of the movement may well have roused Cavour's indignation,³

¹ Compare Mazzini, *Opere*, IX. 344, with the minutes of the trial in Zini, *Storia, Documenti I.* 668-669, 683-684.

² There were at most fourteen political prisoners. Lucania, *Basilicata*, 183, 205-206, 210; according to Mario, *Nicotri*, 7, Pisacane thought that all were political prisoners. See De Monte, *op. cit.*, xl, cccxiii.

³ According to Mario, *op. cit.*, 15, he sent Pisacane's papers to the Neapo-

but it says little for his honesty or chivalry that he punished so ruthlessly the men who in part at all events were preparing the way for himself. And the expedition was a complete failure as it seemed, was the forerunner of a further defeat. There came, in Victor Hugo's words, was greater defeat than at Legnano. John Brown was greater than Luitprand. It was indeed the final blow to Mazzini's influence for the next cycle could not look for leadership to the man who had betrayed so often. But it dispelled the fatal illusion which had misled the Moderates to Murat's plans, and gave a new impetus to the Unitarian movement in the South.

A minor result of the expedition was a natural development of the tension between Naples and Piedmont. The *Cagliari* had been captured after Pisa men's landing on the high seas by the Neapolitan fleet, and the crew, which included two English engineers, were thrown into a Neapolitan prison. Ferdinand may be excused for his belief in Cavour's complicity, but the seizure was contrary to maritime law, and his desire to provoke Victor Emmanuel's government was sufficiently apparent. The Turin ministry claimed the vessel, and the English government demanded the release of the two British subjects. Ferdinand refused to surrender either ship or crew, and the matter threatened to end in war, when the Derby cabinet came in. It readily caught at an excuse for deserting the Piedmontese, when Ferdinand released the two Englishmen, but English public opinion was indignant at the tame acquiescence, and the government was forced to put in a claim for indemnity and act again in unison with Turin. Ferdinand at last frightened by the imminent danger, restored the ship and indemnified the engineers (June 1858). The incident added another laurel to Cavour's diplomacy.

His authority in Piedmont was more absolute than ever. The session, which had opened at Turin in January 1857, reflected the confident courage of the country. In spite of the deficits on every year's budget and the steady and serious increase of the national debt, the country was still advancing in prosperity. There had been good harvests;

free trade and the railways (there were now 600 miles open) were bearing their fruit in a rapid expansion of commerce. The silk trade had doubled, the cotton trade quadrupled since 1848. There had been a notable advance in agricultural enterprise and produce. Agricultural wages had risen twenty-five per cent., and, though the land-tax weighed very heavily on the peasants all classes benefited in the reduction of duties on food. Parliament had passed votes for the Mont Cenis tunnel and the new docks at Genoa and the seaport was recovering its prosperity. Lanza, now minister of education tried to raise the standard of the elementary and secondary schools. By a law of 1848 every commune was compelled to maintain an elementary school and the attendance was now fairly good over ten per cent. of the whole population being on the registers. But there was a great lack of good teachers and the salaries were miserably low, while the curriculum of the numerous old-fashioned "Latin schools" was quite unsuited to modern needs. Lanza's bill proposed to leave the private schools untouched but gave his department limited powers of control over them, made teachers pass an examination, established normal schools and fixed a minimum salary; it more or less regulated and modernized the Latin schools, and provided for the foundation of technical colleges. But he found strong opposition. The clericals objected to interference with the private schools though less than one-tenth of the children attended them, and Cavour and a considerable section of the Liberals supported them in the name of "freedom of teaching." But men less bound to the strict Liberal creed pointed out the necessity of state supervision, and showed what a weapon "freedom of teaching" had placed in the hands of the clericals in France and Belgium. Cavour, as in the question of the *incameramento*, was obliged to sacrifice his individual convictions, and the bill was carried. Its effect on the secondary schools was instantaneous, and the number of pupils quadrupled in three years.

¹ Averaging £15, 12s. per annum; in 1852 it was given as £13 for males and £7, 4s. for women teachers. The men earned their living largely by the spade.

Domestic politics however were more and more overshadowed by the coming war. Parliament accepted La Marmora's Scheme of a network of fortifications between Alessandria, Casale, and Valenza, which would delay an Austrian advance till French help could arrive. Across the Ticino the Milanese had meted the Emperor Francis Joseph's visit by subscribing for a salute at Turin in favour of the Piedmontese army. It was impossible for Austria to overlook the incessant provocations, and after an angry correspondence its *chance d'affaires*, who had been left at Turin since Buol's withdrawal in 1853, was recalled (March 29, 1857). The diplomatic rupture was complete, and all Palmerston's sophistries in defence of Austria failed to induce the Piedmontese to take any steps to heal it.

So far the nationalists had carried all before them. The propagandism of the National Society had drawn together the Liberals of all Italy, and sown the seeds of revolt in every despotic state. The final collapse of the republicans had minimised the danger of division in the nationalist ranks. Even some of the Extreme Right were ready to support the national dignity against Austria. Piedmont was steadily making ready for the war, and French support, if not yet finally assured, was at least probable. With the prospect of the allied army in the field, and the support of all that was best in Italy behind her, Piedmont looked forward with confidence to the struggle. But the reactionaries had decided on one final effort. Reform in Lombardy and Romagna might satisfy England, where the Derby cabinet even more than its predecessor, was leaning to Austria and suspicious of French designs. Even France itself might possibly withdraw its support, for the Emperor was very loath to find himself in conflict with Rome, and the criticisms of the advanced press of Turin and Genoa galled him sorely. And a great attempt might be made to capture the enemy's citadel by returning a reactionary majority at the coming elections in Piedmont. It seemed a forlorn enterprise, for the trust in Cavour and the King was apparently unshaken.

¹ Bianchi, *Diplomazia*, VII. 365-368.

and the nationalist feeling was growing ever intenser. But the plot was well and carefully laid. The heavy taxation created an easy lever of discontent among the peasantry. Savoy had little sympathy for Italian aspirations, and the clericals and nobles were all powerful there. In Piedmont the Liberals were unprepared and divided, expecting a repetition of their easy victories, and the different groups were more intent on fighting one another than on resisting the common enemy. The word of order came from Rome to prepare secretly and vigorously.¹ The cry of danger to the church was raised at confessional and altar, the attack on the monasteries, the polemics of the anti-clerical press, the threat of excommunication made the ears of every devotee tingle, "the priests were authorized to draw large credits on heaven and hell", the sacraments, the rites of burial were refused to Liberals by the more militant clergy. The aristocracy who since 1848 had lived more on their estates and by leading the peasants against the middle classes had made themselves masters of the local councils now for the first time came into the arena. Even the more patriotic of the bishops and the moderate Right were swept away by the tide and forgot their country for their church. Rome showed the enormous latent powers that she possessed, and the superstition of the peasantry, a vague sense of uneasiness among the devout of every class, all the conservatism that was irresistibly attracted to her, proved that she might become as great a danger in a constitutional state as under a despotism.

The elections were held in November (1857). Up to the last the Liberals had scented no danger, and the government, partly from Cavour's comparative scrupulousness, had not used its usual electoral influence. At the last moment clerical candidates were nominated in almost every constituency; Savoy and the Riviera, even Genoa, hitherto the stronghold of the Extreme Left, returned an almost unbroken rank of reactionaries; and in Piedmont, where the franchise was higher, though most of the towns

¹ Cavour, *Lettere*, VI. 88; Zini, *Storia*, I. 735.

stood firm, there were losses in the rural district. If the Liberals had not closed up their ranks at the second ballots, the new Chamber would have had a clerical majority. The peril had been very great, but the forces of reaction had tried their worst and been refuted, and the unscrupulousness of the tactics, the abuse of popular arms, the disclosures in the election petitions, had a cooling effect on the minds of moderate men. And the whole political atmosphere was cleared, the Extreme Left and the moderate Right had almost disappeared. The two great parties of Liberalism and Reaction were face to face. The presence of forty-one radicals in the Chamber marked at once the ultra-Conservatism of the opposition, and the fact that the aristocracy had come into political life while Cavour had behind him a homogeneous majority pledged to his leadership. Even Brofferio and Vobarno, warned by the elections and a sense of the coming struggle, were inclined to mitigate their criticism. But the ministerial ship had been so near to foundering, that a *vote* was called for, and on various grounds the majority demanded Rattazzi's resignation. Cavour, irritated because he had broken his promise to help to part the King from his mistress, and caring more for expediences of state than for any chivalry or friendship, requested him to resign office, and he did so with dignity and self-control. But he felt Cavour's ingratitude bitterly and gradually gathered round himself a cove of the discontented, inclined to waver towards the Left.

CHAPTER XXVI

PLOMBIERES

1858 APRIL 1859

The Orsini plot, Napoleon III and Piedmont, he meets Cavour at Plombières, the Emperor and Europe—Cavour and Central Italy; he organizes the national movement—Maximilian in Lombardy. The National Society's propaganda. The Emperor's wish to Holnér, the "city of woe", THE TREATY WITH PRUSSIA—"Napoleon III et l'Italie", the conversion of the republicans, "To Piedmont", Tuscany; Piedmont. The Emperor in March, German policy, English policy, proposed Congress, proposed disarmament—Austrian ultimatum, France declares war.

It seemed the fate of Cavour's policy that a succession of crises should test it for its final issue, and that from each ordeal it should emerge more tempered. The elections were hardly over, when another peril equally unexpected, put it to severer proof. Eight years before we have seen Felice Orsini acting for the Roman Republic and by his audacity and promptitude crushing the anarchist outbreak at Ancona. He had been Mazzini's most trusted agent in the petty outbreaks of the early '50s, and, though he had little hope in their success, his noble unselfish nature never allowed him to refuse a call to danger. Banished from Piedmont, the restless agitator fell into the hands of the Austrian police, and from his prison at Mantua made an escape that won him European fame. A rupture with Mazzini brought him the vindictive spleen of his master's baser followers and it was perhaps their taunts that resolved him to silence criticism by some great deed. He wrote to Cavour, offering his help, but the premier deigned no reply. Thrown back on himself, he resolved to kill the Emperor. To him Louis Napoleon was the man of December 2, the successful hypo-

critical tyrant who had trampled on the republics of Rome and Paris whose power held back the revolution and threw its shield over the despotisms of Europe. He believed that the Emperor had allied himself with Austria to crush Italy, and that only when he fell would Italy be free for her freedom.¹ All the spirit of the Germanic League was in him, and he was ready to take his life in his hand if it was necessary to save his country. He had to be a martyr, and himself took the chief risk. On an evening in January 1858, as the Emperor and Empress were driving to the Opera, three bombs were thrown at their carriage. The horrible carnage spared the intended victims but killed or wounded over 150 of the crowd.

The first result was sheer panic. Paris and the Emperor lost their heads. And while the Parisian press vented its wrath on England, which had sheltered Orsini and on Piedmont as a nest of rascals, the government demanded at London and Turin that the refugees and their press should be curbed. There was a real danger for the moment that Napoleon's fears would be too many for his Italian sympathies that as he had sacrificed his Polish scheme to Russia its twin project might be pushed aside for his own pique. Cavour's position was a very difficult one. He had already before Orsini's attempt gone far to pacify the Emperor, he had prosecuted the Genoese conspirator with unworthy severity, he had expelled refugees by the hundred, and was contemplating the suppression of the Friendly Societies at Genoa which he suspected of revolutionary aims. But he would not dare not humiliate the Emperor by bowing to the Emperor's demands, and the passage of Palmerston's Conspiracy Bill came with a warning. It was felt to be intolerable that the peace of night in the countries should be upset because the Emperor went in fear for his life. There were already murmurings of his more advanced supporters, and even of some of his colleagues. He was probably himself restive at the importunate despot to whom he had yoked himself, and when the Emperor wrote a threatening autograph to Victor Emmanuel, the King at

¹ Orsini, *Memoirs*, 190; Kossuth, *Memoirs*, 51.

his suggestion replied in terms of offended pride that he would tolerate no pressure. All that Cavour would or could consent to was an amendment to the press law which punished on the requisition of the government editors and any publication exciting plots against the life of foreign potentates while another clause temporarily modified the jury lists for juries were very unwilling to convict in government prosecutions of the press whether clerical or democrat. The bill found as it was found little sympathy from the Left but Rattazzi supported it and it passed the Chamber by a large majority (April 29).

But as soon as the first panic was over the Orsini plot, so far from estranging the Emperor, spurred him to more practical sympathy. Face to face with the possibility of war with England, he was anxious to make it easy for Piedmont to make propitiation to himself. Before his execution Orsini had written two letters to the Emperor in which, after retracting his faith in assassination, he appealed to Napoleon's Italian blood, and warned him, that only when Italian aspirations were realised, would he secure the peace of Europe and the safety of his own throne. "Deliver Italy," he wrote "and the blessings of twenty-five millions of Italians will follow you." The appeal to the Emperor's generosity and fears sank deep, and Cavour probably pressed home his old moral that an unsatisfied Italy was a hotbed of revolution. In appearance the Emperor had France at his feet, but there were grave symptoms of disaffection, that might drive him to another war, to turn attention from the despotism at home. Now that Poland was sacrificed, he was the more eager to fulfil his other dream of freeing Italy and Hungary.¹ Cavour had won his gratitude by supporting him in opposition to England and Austria on the minor questions that arose out of the Treaty of Paris. Now, after the brief fit of anger that followed Orsini's attempt, the Press Law and the heavy sentences on the Genoese conspirators went far to satisfy

¹ Martin, *Prince Consort*, IV. 353, Ashley, *Palmerston*, II. 179; Greville *Memoirs*, VIII. 219-220, Bianchi, *Diplomazia*, VII. 360; Della Rocca, *Autobiografia*, I. 392.

him and Prince Napoleon, who led the Liberal and anti-clerical party in the court, used all his influence to secure a French-Italian alliance. In the summer the Emperor invited Cavour to meet him secretly at Plombières, a watering-place in the Vosges to arrange the final compact for the deliverance of Italy (July 28). The terms of this confidential interview were long wrapped in mystery, but we have a more abundant light as to the more important details. The Emperor spoke more like a real Italian Liberal than like the Emperor of the French. He promised that at the fitting moment he would attack Austria, himself to lead 200,000 men, Piedmont half as many, he was confident of Russian help and English and Prussian neutrality, and if necessary the Allies would march to Vienna and dictate peace there. Austria would be required to surrender all her Italian possessions, the Emperor was unwilling to touch Papal territory, but Cavour insisted on it, and it was agreed that not only Lombardy, Venetia, and the Duchies, but the Legations and perhaps the Marches, should be annexed to Piedmont and form the Kingdom of Upper Italy with a population of eleven millions. Umbria and Tuscany were to form a Kingdom of Central Italy, perhaps under the Duchess-regent of Parma. The Pope was to retain Rome and the Comarca under the protection of the French garrison. Ferdinand was to be left to the tender mercies of his subjects, and the Emperor preferred that after the inevitable revolution Murat should be placed on the throne of Naples. The four states just mentioned were to be formed into an Italian Confederation. Then came the price of the Emperor's assistance. But he stipulated that the war should not be for a secondary idea, that it should be capable of independent justification in the eyes of his own country and England, and it was

¹ Prince Jerome Napoleon. *Penetration of France into Westphalia*.

² We have now three contemporary references to Cavour's letter to the King, published in the *Proverances* (L'Ancien) 24, 1858, and reported in Cavour *Lettere* III. 1. (2) his letter to La Marmora in Massara *La Marmora* 204, (3) his letter to Lanza in Lavallina *Lettere* I. 103-107, 1868. See also Minghetti, *Ricordi*, III. 219; Castelli, *Cavour*, 77; Kossuth, *Memoires*, 53, 90-93.

decided that the easiest pretext might be found in the condition of Massa-Carrara always in a state of semi-revolt against the Duke of Modena. Secondly he asked that Victor Emmanuël's eldest daughter Clotilde should be married to Prince Napoleon and the proud Savoy blood flow into the veins of his own family. But these were minor matters and the Emperor's real price was the cession of Savoy and Nice. The fate of Nice it is probable, he was willing to leave an open question, but he was resolved to have Savoy. To round off France with the Alps and reach its "natural frontiers" at least on the South-East both satisfied his self-imposed mission to destroy the Treaties of 1815 in the name of nationality and might do much to secure for his dynasty the doubtful affections of his people. The frontier of the Alps might be a stepping-stone to the frontier of the Rhine.

In spite however of Cavour's success at Plombières the position was one of enormous difficulty and it proved his rare hardihood that he had pledged his country to a situation from which there was no retreat. Piedmont was heading fast for war, within a few months she must fight, or lose honour and prestige, and if French help were not forthcoming, it would be her inevitable fate to be swallowed up by the hosts that Austria would pour across the Ticino. All the gallantry of Piedmont would avail little against her giant neighbour, unless the legions of France fought for her. And French help was still by no means assured. The Emperor's intentions were loyal, but the difficulties of his position might prove too strong for him. The whole strength of the clerical party in France would muster to prevent a war which was bound to lead up to an attack on the Temporal Power; and the Emperor dared not alienate the party, which had hailed him as the 'new Charlemagne,' and who despite a growing coolness were still the chief bulwark of his throne. The financiers of Paris dreaded war and its effects on the money market, the Liberals suspected a policy which would win prestige for the Empire and drown discontent at home. His ministers, though they had their suspicions, had been kept as much in

the dark as the rest of the country and the Emperor came with Clavour but it was long as a year when the light once shined out.

The external policy of the Emperor was to be guided by the Emperor's last wish, "to keep the peace." It looked like a piece of good policy and Clavour in the diplomatic circle thought that it was a very wise policy to upset the public opinion of Europe and the idea of an international principle. England had to be made every effort to keep the peace and he could not as yet afford to lose her friendship. The Prussian cabinet was at the moment dominated by suspicion of Victoria but at any time German public opinion which regarded Lombardy and Venetia as federal territory, and Venetia and Mantua as outposts of the Fatherland might for the Berlin government into an alliance with Austria. Russia was hot in her new friendship for France and would gladly see Austria punished by the loss of Lombardy but she was unlikely to give material assistance or sympathy to a war for nationality. To win the good will or silence of Europe this revolutionary principle must be checked in the language of diplomacy. The diplomatists clung to their formulas with a timidity worthy of theologians, and even the political latitudinarians, who wished to resist the public law of Europe used the phrases of the worn-out creed of 1814. Clavour hoped to cut the knot by provoking Austria into commencing hostilities, feeling that he trusted to the chapter of accidents to new developments of the Eastern question or to some international situation which might be twisted into a war. He fell in with the Emperor's timidity to diplomatic paths. Whatever were his ulterior hopes he represented any time any rising of difficult questions till the war was over any talk of annexing Tuscany or Romagna or Naples. Sometimes he seems to have hoped to undermine the Lorrainers and when the opportunity came, secure Tuscany for Piedmont. More often he put aside any early hope of acquiring the state, thinking it hopeless to expect the consent of the Powers; he was preoccupied with the fear that the Emperor might

try to carve out a Kingdom of Central Italy under a French prince, and the Lorrainers at all events were a safeguard against so fatal an event. BonCompagni, his minister at Florence, was instructed to try to win the Grand Duke to the nationalist side.¹ His schemes in regard to Romagna were equally unambitious, if Europe consented he would of course gladly annex, if Catholic sentiment proved too strong, he might win the substance of his aim by persuading the Pope to grant Home Rule to Romagna, and appoint Victor Emmanuel his Vicar under Papal suzerainty.² It was a variant of his project of two years earlier, now as then, he could hardly have expected that the Pope would accept it of free will, but he may have hoped that Europe would force it on him as the least thorny solution of the Romagnuol question. Possibly after the Emperor's assurances at Plombières, he may have looked forward to annexation pure and simple, whether the Catholic Powers consented or not.

Most dexterously and unscrupulously he finessed to keep the Emperor in tow and hoodwink Europe. And for the moment he was reassured as to the Emperor's support, and turned his attention to the almost equal difficulties of the situation at home. He had no fears about Piedmont; the little state would face any odds at his own and the King's call. A new loan of forty million lire had been carried by a large majority, and though the Left had voted against it, their opposition was not to its national import, which had been recognized by all. He had asked Rattazzi to join the cabinet again, and Rattazzi, though he refused, knew about Plombières and promised his support. The compliancy of the Senate showed how completely the old Conservative nationalists had been won. But the support of Piedmont was not enough. It was not enough to have with him the active and enthusiastic, he needed the timid and half-hearted and calculating majority, whose defection had been so largely responsible for the failure of 1848.

¹ Bianchi, *op. cit.*, VIII. 14-16, 77-81; Cavour, *Letters*, III. 23; see below, pp. 60, 84.

² Pasolini, *Memoirs*, 169; the date of the conversation was June 1848.

He must create such a consensus of opinion in Italy, as would with us or as it might be in France, lay down the diplomatic opposition, compel France to help, and strengthen Piedmont to make fair terms with her ally. It may be that he hoped that it would be possible to accept the compromise of 1849, and that would be decided now. The National Society had done much to organise such a consensus and Cavour applied himself to complete its work. For the moment though he was face to face with a new peril. His whole policy was based on the assumption that Lombardy-Venetia was groaning under an intolerable tyranny. Had he lost the call from Lombardy, the war would lose half its justification. It was such a danger that now met him.

Austria, with no ally but England, with France and Russia more and more hostile, and Prussia only waiting for an opportunity to rob her of the hegemony of Germany, was bound to do something to remove the scandal of her misrule. Cavour's indictment at the Congress had been a great moral defeat to her. At the end of 1856 the sequestrations were removed, and early in 1857 the Archduke Maximilian, the Emperor's young brother, was sent as Governor to lay the discontent. Maximilian's own politics were sufficiently broad. He would have given the Duchies to Piedmont, saved Romagna from misgovernment by incorporating it in the Empire, and promoted an Italian Federation under the Pope's presidency. He would have allowed Lombardy-Venetia a large measure of Home Rule and representative institutions with a separate Italian army: perhaps his ambitious wife made him hope at times to wear an independent crown.¹ Railways and irrigation work, reform in taxation and education and local government would develop the material prosperity of the country. Maximilian perhaps had the stuff of a ruler, his popular manners, his lavish expenditure, his readiness to take native advice, his real anxiety and energy to remedy the wrongs of the provinces

¹ Bonfadini, *Maximiliano*, 393-394; Canth, *Cronistoria*, III, 138, 293-295, 304. He was of course afterwards the Emperor Maximilian of Napoleon's Mexican scheme.

disarmed not a little of the opposition. A section of the Conservative nobles and the remnants of the fast-waning anti-Piedmontese party were won, the French Emperor was known to have a strong personal regard for the young Archduke; and in the summer of 1858 the nationalists and Cavour were becoming seriously anxious lest Lombardy should become half-reconciled to the alien. But their fears were exaggerated. Home Rule and reform would have had a chance of success twelve years before. But the iron of the past decade had sunk into the souls of the Lombards and Venetians, and adversity had tempered Milanese mildness to sterner metal. The Liberals shut their ears to Maximilian's blandishments, and felt with the aged Manzoni that the Austrians only gave them "the choice of being fried or boiled." And the last hope of reconciliation died, when Maximilian found himself thwarted at every turn by the home government. The military party was again all powerful at Vienna, and General Giulay, who had succeeded Radetzky shortly before his death early in 1858, revived the army opposition, which had wrecked Karl von Schwarzenberg. The bureaucracy and army coalesced to rush the Austrian rule to the doom, from which Maximilian might possibly have saved it. Two acts of fatuous folly undid the Archduke's work at a stroke. The currency was depreciated by making it uniform with that of the rest of the Empire; the liability to conscription was extended, and coupled with a prohibition of marriage before the age of twenty-three to all who were liable to be drawn. The indignation was strong and deep, and the peasants, hitherto only half touched by the nationalist feeling, were alienated for ever.

Cavour was now free, without any anxiety as to Lombardy or Venetia, to carry out his schemes in the rest of Italy, and bring together every possible element of the nation for the coming struggle. He could not indeed hope to win the clericals. It seemed almost equally difficult to bring the various Liberal and nationalist sections into line. In Piedmont, Lombardy-Venetia and the Duchies his immediate adherents, who would have been content with a strong North Italian kingdom, were in the majority. But the Unitarians.

who formed the backbone of the National Society, were daily gaining strength and at the opposite pole there was still a considerable sprinkling, especially in Sicily and Naples, of autonomists who cherished the independence of the petty states and feared the unity and the conservative liberalism spirit, or were hostile to the "Cavour" who was an advocate of government gave to their little capitals. They were willing enough to see the House of Savoy rule on all the Italy, perhaps even in Romagna, but they looked jealously on an advance that might cross the Apennines. And certainly all there were the republicans, steadily diminishing in numbers, but still counting in their ranks some of the most virile elements of the nation, whose enthusiasm and energy would be invaluable in the great day of trial. Cavour hoped to win the autonomists by his careful suppression of any official policy of annexation in Central or Southern Italy, by trying to enlist the princes in the national cause, by starving the suspicions, which Albertism had excited in 1848. He looked to the National Society to do the rest. After Mazzini's death in the autumn of 1857, it had been entirely under the control of Pallavicino and its unrelenting secretary La Farina, and though far from being a mere tool of Cavour, it was prepared during the crisis to take its marching orders from him. The motto of Italian Unity was dropped for that of Italian Independence, and instructions were issued to discontinue political controversy till the war was over. In the Austrian provinces and the Duchies it was now all-powerful, so strong was the nationalist feeling in Lombardy, that the chief difficulty of the Society was to restrain the impatience. The Milanese demonstrated against "smoking," gave ovations to Verdi, whose initials made a patriotic anagram, childish manoeuvres, but helping to drill the patriots and prevent a premature outbreak. In Romagna the various nationalist organisations had come into line, and had their network of committees through the province. In Sicily the Society steadily won ground from the Mazzinians,

¹ Till an enterprising tobacconist brought out a "Cavourian" brand of cigars, which were smoked by all patriots.

² *Vittorio Emanuele Re D'Italia.*

but neither here nor at Naples was it able to make any effective preparation.

Cavour was using the Society to gather a volunteer force from every part of Italy. It was not that he set any great value on its military uses, but he saw the importance of putting as many men as possible into the field to prevent the Emperor from claiming all the laurels of victory, and give Piedmont a more effective voice in the settlement that would follow. It might help to provoke Austria into declaring war; it would win the confidence of the radicals, it would fuse the nationalists of the different provinces and be the forerunner of an Italian army. Following up his plan of making the troubles in Massa Carrara a pretext for hostilities, he approved (October 1858) a scheme of La Farina to prepare for a rising there at the end of the coming April and send Garibaldi and the volunteers to assist it, confident that this would force Austria to a decisive step. In December Garibaldi, who at this time trusted Cavour and the King implicitly, was summoned to Turin. He readily accepted the part assigned to him, and returned jubilant at the prospect of early fighting.

But despite the work of the National Society, despite Garibaldi's adhesion, there was still a certain diffidence among the majority of tepid patriots. It was the necessary defect of Cavour's secret workings, that though among the initiated it was an open secret that there would be war in the coming spring, he had failed to convince the masses that he meant action. There was a strong repugnance to the French alliance, a fear that it would end in some feeble compromise, which would leave Italy in little better case than before. Lombardy was fretting for war; but elsewhere there was more expectancy and suppressed excitement than confidence or enthusiasm. The doubters had not long to wait. At the Emperor's reception on New Year's Day (1859), he brusquely told Hulmer, the Austrian minister, that he regretted that "the relations between the two Empires were not as good as they had been." It is probable that he did not intend the words as a menace,¹ but the friction between France and Austria was steadily growing,

¹ Compare the Cowley incident. Martin, *Prince Cavour*, V. 39.

and despite an official explanation in the *Motiv*, the words were taken through Europe as a threat of war. Cavour was troubled at the premature declaration, but the die was cast, and Piedmont must not be behindhand in bold language. The opening of Parliament had been fixed for January 7. Cavour had already drafted the speech from the throne in which he spoke of the new year as "not being entirely serene." His colleagues objected to the words not being too strong by the diplomatic standard of speech, and the matter was referred to the Emperor, who suggested an emendation a phrase that the King "was not insensible to the cry of war that reached him from so many parts of Italy." The phrase was stronger than the original, but Cavour and the King eagerly adopted it, and the enthusiasm, with which the Chamber and its galleries hailed the speech, showed that the bold words had gone home.

It was clear now to all the world that the Emperor intended war before many months were out, and Austria was already sending another army-corps into Lombardy. And though the Emperor was anxious to postpone hostilities till his army was more ready and Austria more definitely isolated, he secretly ordered the troops at Lyons to be ready to cross the Alps,¹ and Prince Napoleon started for Turin (January 13) to claim Princess Clotilde as his bride. On his arrival he concluded an offensive alliance between France and Piedmont (January 18) stipulating that in the event of victory Lombardy, Venetia and the Duchies, and if possible Romagna and the Marche, should go to Piedmont, while France took Savoy, and Nice was left for future settlement. A military convention of the same date provided that war should begin between the end of April and the end of July, and that France should send 200,000 men. The Clotilde marriage was apparently an essential part of the pact. The princess was barely sixteen. Prince Napoleon

¹ La Gorce, *Second Empire*, III. 3; D'Almeida, *Unveiling of Italy*, 34.

² I think there can be no doubt as to the treaty, though Bianchi does not explicitly mention it (see *Diplomazia*, VIII. 6, 11), and Chiala, in Cavour, *Lettere*, III. xxxii, gives no authority for his quotation of it. According to Massari, *Cavour*, 279, it was a defensive alliance only.

was a cowardly, unscrupulous, middle-aged rake and the cold-blooded sacrifice of the young girl revolted the best feeling of the country. Victor Emmanuel was not an affectionate father to his legitimate children, but the immolation of his daughter touched his self-respect perhaps some fonder sentiment and his pride revolted against marrying one of his family into the parvenu Bonapartes. But to Cavour the girl was an unconsidered pawn in the game and the King's objections were "scruples of rancid aristocracy." His insistence bore down Victor Emmanuel's opposition, and the marriage took place on the last day of the month.

Events followed fast. Early in February the Emperor astonished his ministers by telling them that he was at the point of issuing a manifesto on the Italian question. The manifesto (February 4) was a pamphlet written by his friend, La Guéronnière,¹ but it was corrected by the Emperor himself, and was well understood to express his views. The gist of *Napoléon III. et l'Italie* was the necessity of satisfying Italian nationality and rescuing the Pope from his present impossible position by a scheme of Italian Federation. Italian Unity was declared to be impossible, the thrones of Tuscany and Naples were specifically safeguarded, and a triple partition of Italy at the expense of Austria and the Pope was hinted at not obscurely. Rome was to be the seat of the federal government, but the city, with an undefined amount of territory, was to be left to the Pope, under a reformed government and with a native army, which would enable the French garrison to withdraw. The pamphlet pointed at Austria as the great obstacle to reform at Rome or any scheme of federation, and though it said nothing directly as to her expulsion, it hinted pointedly that she must go, and that if war came, France would fight for "the mother of nations."

Meanwhile the Emperor's words to Habner and the King's speech had set Italy ablaze. The "cry of woe" was an epoch-making phrase, which echoed and re-echoed

¹ Cavour, *Letters*, III. 385, *et seq.* He was assisted by E. Rendu, but Minghetti is wrong in saying (*Ricordi*, III. 222), that Rendu wrote it. For the Emperor's part in it, see Kossuth, *Memories*, 116.

through the land and woke all the latent patriotism to enthusiasm and action. All his early hesitations and suspicion of Cavour's career were swept away as he saw the advance distribution of the Italian national help which followed the king's proclamation of independence, a term not to be taken and none to be won. His first result was the people of the republic in arms. The debtors of the National Society had already taken over the great majority, but there was still clinging at their sides all but influential groups which wavered between the old and Mazzini, Medici, Nino Bixio and Bertani men who had a big part to play in the coming struggle was definitely decided to support the Piedmontese government.¹ Nothing but the blindest fanaticism they felt could keep them from sinking for the moment at all events their republican faith and helping to strike the great blow for independence, and Genoa, halfhearted divided between the clericals and republicans, both equally bitter opponents of Cavour's policy, suddenly became enthusiastic for him and for the King. Mazzini though willing to waive his republicanism refused to give any countenance to the French alliance or to a policy that declared for less than unity. He stood aloof in his perverse isolation, and a few irreconcilable pedants, as Crapi and Pilo followed him to sulk in their tents. But for the time at all events the republican party was extinct.

Even more than the republican conversion the volunteer movement showed how deep and strong the national feeling was. Cavour's arrangement with Garibaldi had prepared the way for a volunteer force but up to the end of the year they had no practical result. The movement began in January with the escape of some land and sea troops, the intense feeling against the new Austrian conscription law gave a lever on the masses that the Lombard nationalist committees were quick to take advantage of and all the efforts of the authorities were powerless to check a people's conspiracy. The ostentatious welcome given to the fugitives by the Piedmontese government was new proof that it was bent on war, and the movement spread to the other states.

¹ *Matte, Bertani, I. 290-297.*

"To go to Piedmont" became the test of patriotism and from all Italy the young volunteers poured across the frontier by hundreds a day, while the governments looked on, impotent to prevent. From Modena and Parma and Tuscany, from Romagna and Umbria and the Marches they came. A regiment of Papal dragoons deserted, the Carrara marble works were nearly at a standstill, for the masons had crossed the frontier, from Naples and Sicily men escaped in fishing boats. Before the war began, probably between 20,000 and 25,000 had enrolled themselves in the regular army or in Garibaldi's regiments. The military authorities frowned on the irregular corps, and Cavour had infinite difficulties in procuring uniforms and arms for them. But the country was behind him, Garibaldi had had a fresh interview with the King (March 21) and shortly afterwards was appointed to the command with liberty to choose his own officers and a promise that there should be no enquiry into the politics of his men. Cavour had secured for the movement all the half-mythical cult that surrounded Garibaldi's name: that made him a terror to the Austrian private, and a venerated hero to his own countrymen. The *Hymn to Garibaldi*, written at this time by Luigi Mercantini, became the *Marseillaise* of Italy.

Meanwhile the moderate nationalists of Tuscany had been trying to win the Grand Duke to the cause. It says not a little for the comparative mildness of his absolutism that a constitutional agitation was possible; in Lombardy or Romagna or Naples it would have been stamped out in blood. Tuscany had been very quiet since the abolition of the Statute in 1852. In 1855 the last Austrian troops had left, the government was not bad enough to cause much active discontent, and the Liberals, without confidence in themselves and unsupported by the masses, had been only too ready to acquiesce. Gradually there came longings for a freer life, and with the spread of the National Society a strong popular party grew up, which looked to Piedmont for leadership, and would have welcomed Victor Emmanuel for their sovereign. But many of the Liberal nobles had been taught little by the

past eight years they were autonomists. "Little Tuscans" anxious to stave off revolution and save the dynasty by drawing the Grand Duke into some measure of liberal and national policy. There was one reason however, for those who though working with their present belonged to a very different school. Ricciotti had learnt that no real reform could come from the House of Lorraine; he had learnt that Italy could only be regenerated when the Austrians were expelled; that therefore she must put her trust in Piedmont and that it need be Piedmont must lead a revolutionary war to win the independence of the land. "I want" he said "to make Tuscany a province of Piedmont, for that is the only way for her to become a province of Italy" and at all events since the Crimean War this had been his fixed faith. But he saw that the Tuscan movement must take its orders from Turin and though he in common with the other nobles rejected Cavour's advice to agitate for a constitution fearing that it would bring out the latent divisions among the nationalists, he was willing at his bidding to try to save the Grand Duke by pledging him to war.¹ The pamphlet on Tuscany and Austria (March 15) which he and the other leading nobles endorsed, was a strong and reasoned indictment of Austrian influence in Tuscany, and an appeal to the state to free itself from the foreign suzerainty which had robbed it of its independence. "We have waited ten years, because Piedmont must complete her mission and show that Italians are worthy of freedom; now Tuscany must take her part by the side of Piedmont." Nothing was said for or against the House of Lorraine and the pamphlet faithfully repeated Cavour's plan of trying to enlist the Grand Duke in the war. Cavour himself had already a month before been organizing at Florence through the National Society an agitation for the conclusion of a military alliance with Turin. Boncompagni offered the guarantee of Piedmont for the Grand Duke's throne, if he would formally side with her and entrust her with the

¹ Bonaldi, *Lettere*, II. 466-469; Zola, *Cronaca*, I. 103; Castelli, *Ricordi*, 232.

government of Turin during the coming war. It was a dangerous offer and it was fortunate that Leopold's blindness or his inability to Austria kept him from an engagement which might have cost his crown.

While Italy was rallying with one will to the nationalists there was a bill of excitement in the North. But the wind of power was already falling in Piedmont even on those who were most opposed to the war. It was impossible of course that the parliamentary warfare should altogether die down: there was an undercurrent of bickering between the old Piedmontese party and the Unitarians of the National Society: there was a strong suspicion abroad that Savoy was to be sacrificed, and Cavour's equivocations in the Chamber did nothing to allay it. There were many no doubt who disliked much of his policy, who rebelled against the impulsive temper or who feared lest the movement should of its own impetuosity go too far. Even in the cabinet itself there were those who looked with anxiety to the terrible risks of the coming conflict and would not have been sorry if European complications made it impossible.¹ But they allowed themselves to drift with the stream, or felt with D'Azeglio that it was not a question of the merits of Cavour's policy but how to make it succeed. And the majority, who gladly accepted it as at least a first instalment of their hopes, were willing to leave everything in his hands. Apart from the Savoyard politicians there was a general understanding that party struggle must be dropped. Garibaldi summed up the universal feeling: 'all,' he said, 'want a military dictatorship, parties disappear, Cavour is omnipotent.' And so slowly the war-cloud crept on amid trepidation and enthusiasm, with calm on the surface and feverish excitement beneath, and one grim demand resolve to win or lose all in one supreme attempt.

In Italy everything was ready. But while at home the nationalists had been successful beyond all hope, difficulties were thickening abroad. In January the French alliance seemed safe, only a pessimist would have doubted the

¹ Tavallini, *Lettere*, I. 107; C. D'Azeglio, *Memorie*, 551; Massari, *Le Marmorata*, 210, 216; *contro*, Castelli, *op. cit.*, 260-261.

certainly that a French army would be in Italy in the coming spring or summer.¹ Now at the beginning of March it seemed more than probable whether the Emperor would hold by his promise. His abjectness in 1848 says it more or less, and it is not impossible that his real intentions were not probable that up to March he would put his public pretence to a resolved war. But his character in 1859 has been a great deal more guarded than in 1848. His bold schemings changed to sober calculations of the risk. His war policy had raised a host of enemies determined to head him back if possible. His minister told him that war would be dangerous to the Emperor, the facts tell fact and the Chamber when it met early in February spoke plainly its suspicions. The Emperor was proudly prepared to defy feeling at home confident that war would cause the latent militarism of the country and victory reap his throne more than all the goodwill of the Bourbons. But it was matter of life and death to him that war should end in victory, and of this he dared not feel secure till his unready army was more prepared and Austria more isolated. By the diplomatic means an attack on Austria in the name of nationality would be deemed indefensible, and his enemy would have the moral perhaps the material support of Europe. He must wait till some pretext recognised by international law could be found or until Austria could be provoked into taking the offensive, and put herself diplomatically in the wrong. He had laid the foundations for a disunion from the East. Some out of all mine whose particulars are not certainly known, but which probably ended the alliance of Poland had found the intention but a loose bent centrality and a promise to raise a nation on the Galician frontier which would compel Austria to detach her forces and threaten Prussia, should she wish to get her revenge. The Emperor had been intriguing with intermittent seriousness with the Hungarian exiles, and Montenegro where French

¹ Grey's Memoirs, VIII. 227; Della Rocca, *op. cit.*, I. 396.

² Correspondence--Italy (1859), 56, 346, 358; Martin, *Primer Consort*, VI. 353, 433; *Nouvelle Revue*, October 1, 1884, 463, 465; Veroli, *Pepoli*, in *Rivista*, XXIX. 755; Cavour, *Letters*, VI. 303.

influence was exerted to light the way to a more vigorous agitation among the Austrian States.

But the difficulties were not the only thing that stood by Austria's side. England had been a friend to her, but might grow cold towards her, if she were to continue to support a policy which had consequences so disastrous to her interests. The Emperor of the Romans (G. for the Emperor) was not to be reconciled with Austria, and was not to be reconciled with Prussia. He had supported the cause of Russia, and had been in Berlin and supported the cause of Prussia. He had been in Prussia sympathizing for Italy. But the smaller German courts were more under Austrian influence and attention. The Federal Diet was composed of quarrelsome members, and that touched the Emperor's pride. He did not spare all his Germany, irritated by the persistent delugings of France, the French press, and instinctively recognizing that some day later France would attempt to rectify the Rhine question, was eagerly desirous to share in a war which would defend the Rhine on the Rhine. If Napoleon could be induced to the sympathy of England, her influence might form the Prussian cabinet in its policy of neutrality. But the Berlin cabinet had little share in the popular enthusiasm for Italy, and was threatening its high displeasure to whoever broke the peace. It was sincerely desirous to save Europe from war, but was equally moved by fear of the Emperor's ulterior designs, and anxiety as to what might issue from a triumphant Franco-Russian alliance. Malinebury, the Foreign Secretary, was woefully ill informed on Italian politics,¹ and though far from sympathizing with the misrule, was entirely indifferent to the hopes of Italian nationality. Since the beginning of the year he had been trying to scold France and Austria into reconciliation. His policy was to make war impossible by removing its pretext. These he summarized under four heads (February 13) the foreign occupation of the Papal States, the misrule there, the strained relations between Austria and Piedmont, and the treaties of 1847, which bound Austria to put down any rising in the Duchies. If the "amicable interference" of England

¹ He thought that the Orsini plot was the work of the Carbonari, and that Cavour was privy to it!

could secure some settlement of these points, war might be avoided. The Emperor gave a qualified approval to the English programme, though he hinted that reform implied Home Rule for the Legations and some kind of representative institutions throughout Italy. The evacuation of the Papal States seemed facilitated by a mysterious move of Antonelli who announced his intention to ask France and Austria to withdraw their garrisons, though it may be doubted whether he really meant it.¹ Austria seemed disposed to compromise, Lord Cowley was sent on a special mission to Vienna (February 27), and won from the Buel cabinet a promise to negotiate, though its simultaneous resolution to place the army in Italy on a war footing showed its deep rooted suspicion of Napoleon's plans.

But the Emperor was now really hesitating. He and Cavour again and again denied any intention of attacking Austria. Most of it was pure duplicity, and in the end the Emperor instructed his prefects to direct the prefects to support him in a war policy. But he was coming to a conviction that hostilities might have to be postponed perhaps indefinitely. Germany was more and more menacing, his own ministers who were still ignorant of the treaty of January 18, were doing their best to hold him back, the English government used every argument to work on his fears. On March 5 an article in the *M. tel.* asserted that the Emperor was under no obligation to assist Piedmont unless she were attacked. But when Victor Emmanuel wrote, threatening to abdicate, if the Emperor deserted him, Napoleon, alarmed at the prospect of a crisis at Turin, veered back and sent reassuring messages.² Frightened at the difficulties that loomed him in caught between his engagements to Piedmont and his fears, he hoped to find a way out by referring everything to a Congress of the Powers. Perhaps he hoped that their pressure would relieve him perforce of his obligations, at all events he would gain time, and if war came it would find him more prepared and Austria more exhausted by the strain of

¹ Correspondence - Italy (1859), 55, 58, 129, Vitthum, *St. Petersburg*, I. 326.

² Kossuth, *Memories*, 123.

a war footing. At his prompting Russia proposed the Congress (March 18): Malmesbury, though suspicious that it was only intended to gain time, assented on the basis of the four points; Prussia followed his lead, and Austria gave a very qualified assent (March 22), on condition that before the Congress met, Piedmont should disband the contingents and the volunteers. England listened to urge Piedmont to comply, and offered in conjunction with France to guarantee her against Austrian attack. Cavour had practically declined to disarm, though he had promised not to attack Austria, if Austria abstained from further aggression. But he felt that it was impossible to flaunt all Europe, and refuse point-blank to acknowledge the Congress. Yet if it met, and the Five Powers agreed to a settlement, it would be the death-blow to his hopes. It would no longer be possible to provoke Austria into declaring war and Piedmont would find herself isolated and helpless. Outwardly calm and cheerful as ever, he was tortured with anxiety; overwork and his awful responsibility had weakened his moral fibre, and in his fierce earnestness for his big ends he forgot the bigger ends of honour. He seemed the embodiment of a remorseless will; all scruples as to means, even common honesty had gone. If the Congress were merely a blind of the Emperor to hoodwink diplomacy and gain time, he was willing to rival him in duplicity. But he was doubtful of the Emperor himself, and again he threatened "some desperate act," if Napoleon proved faithless. "I will fire the powder," he told the French minister, "and when Italy runs with blood, you will have to march." The Emperor temporized again; he sent for Cavour to come to Paris, and probably tried hard to induce him to disarm. But Cavour again threatened that the King would abdicate, and that himself would retire to America and publish the Emperor's letters and the notes of the Plombières meeting.¹ Napoleon felt himself at the mercy of the man, who could bring on

¹ Correspondence—Italy (1859), 192, 207; Martin, *op. cit.*, IV. 421; Cavour, *Lettres*, VI. 377, 379; C. D'Azeglio, *op. cit.*, 552; Malmesbury, *Memoirs*, II. 163; Bianchi, *Politique de Cavour*, 330; Greville *Memoirs*, VIII. 244; Vitzthum, *op. cit.*, I. 359; Geffcken, *Casa di Savoia*, 133; Rotham, *France en 1867*, 78.

him the indignation of Europe, and Cavour returned to Turin satisfied that war though it might be postponed was certain. It was probably more calculated to ensure that the Congress should be so composed that the scheme was breaking down under its own inherent contradictions.

Austria in the first half of the year 1859 was in a position which could not be described as favourable to Italy, at least in the eyes of Europe. She was suspicious that the proposal was only a game played by France to get her army off an empty ground, peace was threatening the country to death with its expense. Everything tended to weaken Bismarck's policy of peace and throw power into the hands of the war party. Though the English Government had declared that under no circumstances would it lend its armed help, Cavour's mission had nevertheless urged the Austrians to hope that England would not refuse her support at the last. There was a better grounded expectation that the excitement in Germany would force Prussia and the smaller states into an alliance. France, Joseph and the military party were longing to punish hated Piedmont for her studied provocations and were confident that they could crush her before French help arrived. And though Bismarck had formally promised not to attack Piedmont the power to keep his undertaking was fast slipping from his hands. Austria persisted in demanding the disarmament of Piedmont and refused to admit her representative to the Congress, and this gave Cavour his chance to indignantly refuse to disarm or attend the Congress unless Prussia stood on an equality with the other Powers (April 20). Malmibury recognized that his refusal was fatal to the scheme and as a last resource took up (April 7) a proposal first made by Austria, that the three armies should be simultaneously reduced to a peace footing. France professed to accept the principle and officially asked Piedmont to assent. But at the Emperor's own prompting Cavour eluded the demand, and insisted on conditions that he knew it would not be easy to satisfy. Success was nearer than he knew, he had had to wait long, but his policy of provocation was bearing

its fruit. On the same day that Malmesbury proposed a general disarmament, Austria called out her reserves, and though she agreed to his proposals (April 12), it was either a feint, or Buol's last stand against the war party.¹ As early as April 9¹ the government had decided to send an ultimatum to Piedmont requiring her to reduce her army to a peace footing and disband the volunteers, and Napoleon, either because he feared that the Piedmontese would be crushed before his troops could arrive, or anxious to help Austria in her false step, sent a peremptory telegram to Turin, insisting on disarmament. Cavour received it on the night of April 18, he had heard rumours of the ultimatum but apparently did not credit them, and he thought that the Emperor's message meant checkmate in the long game. Half-distraught he talked of suicide, but sullenly answered that Piedmont must bow to the will of Europe. His grief turned suddenly to joy. Before it was known at Vienna that Piedmont had agreed to disarm the ultimatum had been sent. On April 23 the bearer of Buol's note arrived at Turin. It demanded that within three days Piedmont should disarm, and threatened that a refusal would be followed by prompt invasion. It asked for no more than Cavour had consented to, but the threat, with which it ended, could have only one reply from a self-respecting nation. At the moment when Cavour seemed to find check on every side, his enemy's false move put the game into his hands. Austria had broken the peace, and Cavour knew well that France was bound to help, and that the enemy had forfeited the diplomatic sympathies of Europe. "The die is cast," he said, when the Austrian messenger left, "we have made history." One last effort Malmesbury made for peace, but its only result was to delay the Austrian invasion for two days. Napoleon would not draw back now, and on April 29 he formally declared war.

¹ Loftus, *Reminiscences*, II. 25; Correspondence—Italy, (1850), 257; another, but I think improbable, explanation, in Debraux, *L'Égypte*, 12-14.

² Cavour, *Lettere*, III. cxx; De Cesari, *Scabaja*, 100.

³ Cavour, *Lettere*, III. cxxiv; VI. 380, 391-394; Correspondence—Italy, 250, 277; Bianchi, *Diplomazia*, VIII. 58-62; Massari, *Cavour*, 315-317; Castelli, *Cavour*, 84.

CHAPTER XXVII

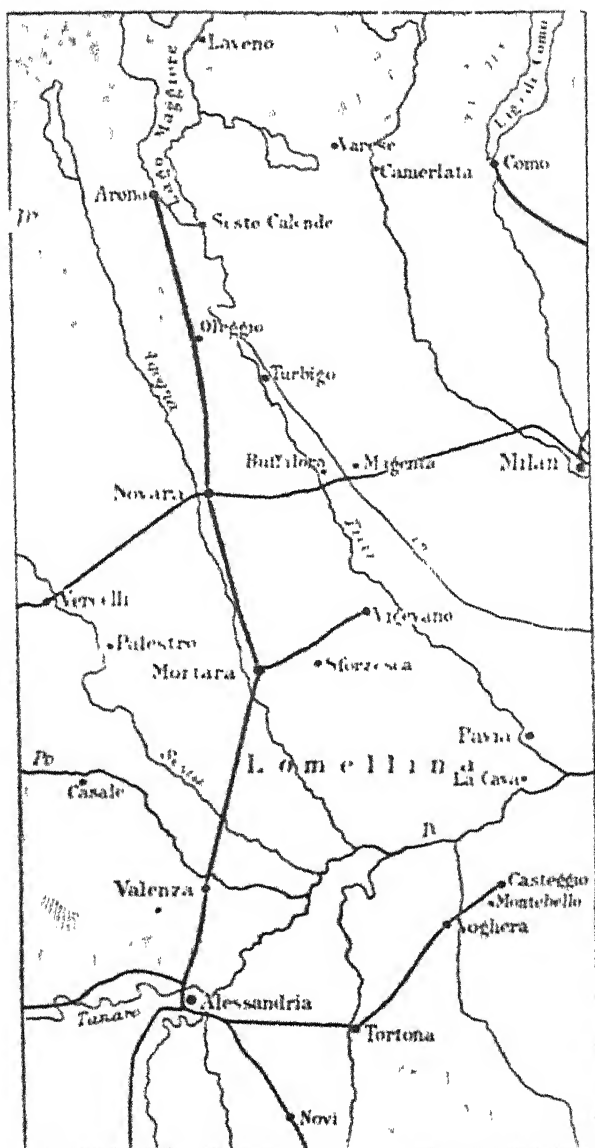
THE FALL OF THE

ARCHDUCHESS

THE ARCHDUCHESS was a woman of great beauty and high intelligence. She was a member of the Imperial family and was married to the Duke of Salaparuta. She was a very popular figure in the court and was much loved by the Emperor. She was a very kind and generous person and was always ready to help the poor and the needy. She was a very brave woman and was always ready to stand up for her principles. She was a very wise woman and was always ready to give advice to the Emperor. She was a very beautiful woman and was always the center of attention. She was a very kind and generous person and was always ready to help the poor and the needy. She was a very brave woman and was always ready to stand up for her principles. She was a very wise woman and was always ready to give advice to the Emperor. She was a very beautiful woman and was always the center of attention.

The Austrian domination was a great evil to the people of Italy. It estranged her friends and she was a great enemy of the nation. She was denounced by the public opinion. The people of Italy were very angry with her. They were very angry with her because she was a foreigner and she was a woman. They were very angry with her because she was a member of the Imperial family and she was married to the Duke of Salaparuta. They were very angry with her because she was a very popular figure in the court and she was much loved by the Emperor. They were very angry with her because she was a very kind and generous person and she was always ready to help the poor and the needy. They were very angry with her because she was a very brave woman and she was always ready to stand up for her principles. They were very angry with her because she was a very wise woman and she was always ready to give advice to the Emperor. They were very angry with her because she was a very beautiful woman and she was always the center of attention. They were very angry with her because she was a very kind and generous person and she was always ready to help the poor and the needy. They were very angry with her because she was a very brave woman and she was always ready to stand up for her principles. They were very angry with her because she was a very wise woman and she was always ready to give advice to the Emperor. They were very angry with her because she was a very beautiful woman and she was always the center of attention.

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PLAN TO THE MILITARY CAMPAIGNS OF 1849 AND 1859.

— Army marching in May 1859

Scale in English Miles.

"is the last Piedmontese Chamber; the next will be that of the Kingdom of Italy." And so with desperate resolve the nation stepped down into the arena; the next week might see Turin in the power of the enemy, defeat meant annihilation of liberty and independence, victory meant untold sacrifice and suffering, but there was no faltering, nothing to disturb the calm confidence of the faith in King and minister, who had given a splendid chance to Italy.

War began on the evening of April 26, but it was not till three days later that the Austrians began to cross the Ticino. It was obvious strategy for them to try to crush the Piedmontese before the French arrived, and for years past La Marmora had been preparing to meet the contingency. The little Piedmontese army of barely 60,000 men occupied what was practically a great entrenched camp in the triangle formed by Alessandria, Valenza and Casale between the Po and Tanaro. Here, though the Austrians outnumbered them by nearly three to one, they might hope to hold their ground till the French arrived; but the road lay open to Turin, or the enemy might advance along the right of the Tanaro and thrust themselves between the Piedmontese position and the French advancing from Genoa. But whether in consequence of Malmesbury's last move or from their own unreadiness, the Austrians wasted two precious days, before the army of 160,000 crossed the Ticino between Pavia and Buffalora (April 29), and two days later reached the line of the Po and Sesia. They still had the start, but Giulay's incompetent generalship soon robbed them of what was left of it. For several days he wandered desultorily between Mortara and Vercelli, then massed his left wing round Tortona to attack the French detachments in detail as they crossed the Apennines; again suddenly changing his tactics drew hurriedly back, and pushed on his right towards Turin. His van had reached Ivrea on May 8, and was only a few leagues distant from the capital. Cavour, dreading the political effects of its occupation, urged the King to fight for its defence, but from a military standpoint his advice had no justification, and the King, bitter though his resolution must have been,

refused to leave his position, trusting that the danger of a flank attack might make Giulay pause. Turin prepared to make a desperate defence with its National Guard and the 8000 French who had arrived under Canrobert; the country population, maddened by the brutalities of the Austrians in the Lomellina, armed in mass, and Garibaldi hurried down with his volunteers from Biella. Giulay, fronted with a desperate popular resistance, and fearing the flank attack, again lost courage and suddenly retreated on Verceelli.

It was now three weeks since the war opened. Giulay had wasted his opportunity in fruitless operations; the Piedmontese position was intact, and the French troops were hurrying up from Genoa, from Nice, across the Mont Cenis at the rate of 20,000 a day. In a few days more the allied army would be in full strength, and prepared to take the offensive. Giulay concentrated his main force between Mortara and the Po, and now that the opportunity had passed, made a fresh movement of his left towards Voghera, along the narrow slope between the spurs of the Apennines and the low grounds by the Po. On May 20 Stadion with 30,000 men made an unexpected attack on the allied outposts at Montebello, the scene of Lannes' victory in 1800. The splendid charges of the Piedmontese cavalry held the advance in check, till Forey brought his division up from Voghera, threw his whole strength on Montebello, and though very inferior in numbers, drove the Austrians back on Casteggio. The Emperor, who had now taken the supreme command, made no attempt to follow up the victory; it might have been his best strategy to advance down the right of the Po and attack the Quadrilateral at once; but he would have had to force the dangerous defile of Stradella, and storm the strong position at Piacenza, with the enemy in full strength on his flank. He decided on the safer plan of changing his front and advancing by his left on the Ticino in the direction of Milan. While the Piedmontese and one French corps on his left wing covered him from a flank attack, a skilful movement took his right and centre across the Po to a position behind the Sesia between Casale and

Vercelli. To make a detour towards Vigevano and so on to the passage of the Sesia the Piedmontese were obliged to attack the villages south-east of Vercelli and the other side of the river. On May 3 Garibaldi's command failed and he himself took Vercelli but while Nodda's army was still there at night to prevent the passage of the river and to destroy the rafts and prevent a further advance. He had to retreat. The Austrians partly aware of the situation, did not leave their last positions and drove Nodda's little Piedmontese into the river. But this day's fighting had no serious results for the fighting numbers on either side were small. He had, however, saved the Allies from a serious defeat and it was the victory was hardly won. But it had a great moral effect. It was an Italian victory and it was the first time a few French had been engaged. Nodda's army and the charges in person and the Austrians were not only Italy an enthusiastic demonstration and the Austrians were that was so popular in this country.

Meanwhile Garibaldi with the volunteers had been making a free fight on the lake. He had about 2000 men under his old lieutenant, South American, Ruffo and the *Carabinieri* were a very small force of patriotism. Men of every class and state and the artists, medical students workmen who had left home and gone to strike a blow for freedom. Such men with no regular and no artillery would go far under good leadership. As soon as Turin was safe Garibaldi was ordered to advance into Lombardy with a free hand and stir the Lombards to revolt. Crossing the Po at Sesto Calende he advanced boldly into the enemy's country, cutting himself off from any base of operations and trusting to the friendliness of the inhabitants and his own audacious strategy. Defeating Urban in front of Varese May 26 he marched on to Como and with 3000 men again routed Urban's treble superior force at San Fermo. But he was playing too hazardous a game with his little army, he failed in a night attack on the fort at Laveno and hurrying back to relieve Varese, which had been reoccupied, he was nearly

surrounded and only escaped by a daring retreat. Left without information as to the movements of the main army, apparently forgotten and deserted his position was a perilous one when Urban's recall relieved the volunteers from their danger. They had done little from a strategical point of view, but all Italy rang with the gallant fights at Varese and San Fermo, with Garibaldi's dazzling manoeuvres, with the contemptuous daring by which he had puzzled and baffled Urban's forces.

Urban had been recalled to effect a junction with the main army. After Palestro Girley began to suspect some unexpected movement on the part of the Allies, and at length discovered that he had the enemy in full strength on his right, intending to force the passage of the Ticino. He dared not risk a great battle with his back to the river and hoped, if he repassed it, to take the Allies at a disadvantage on the crossing. Retiring beyond the Ticino, he began to move his army northwards towards the point where the railway crosses the river near Buffalora and Magenta. He occupied the latter in considerable force and the town with its sloping gardens and canal in front formed a strong position. But more than half his forces had been delayed, it was said because the Emperor Francis Joseph sent counter-orders, and he had less than 80,000 at hand on the morning of June 4. Macmahon's corps, followed by the whole Piedmontese army, had crossed the river the day before at Turbigo, and was advancing on Magenta from the north, while the French Guards, followed by Canrobert's and Niel's corps, were approaching the railway bridge, which with strange want of precaution the Austrians had only partially destroyed. The Guards, crossing the bridge, attacked early in the afternoon; but though at first they carried all before them, they found themselves unsupported, and their position became a very critical one. Niel and Canrobert had not yet come up, and Macmahon's two columns had got separated and had enough to do to avoid being crushed in detail. The Guards held their ground with splendid stubbornness, and the Emperor refused to withdraw them. But the Austrians poured their strength upon them, and the tardy

succour arrived barely in time to save them. Soon after four o'clock Nicks and Canrolier's troops began to move up, and at five o'clock Macmahon united his columns and threatened the Austrian right at Buffalora. It was not till two hours later that the French were able to secure a firm ground, and though Magenta was captured by General Gublay with few his troops to the aid of the Emperor. Had not two of his corps through some minor tactical errors retired on Milan he would have secured the victory that day. The battle did little or nothing to Napoleon's faith, though the heroism of the Grand Army and the full-time resolution to hold to his position with the aid of the Emperor the ill-concerted attack. The Piedmontese victory in Macmahon's rear came up too late to have any effect on the fight.¹

The road was now open to Milan. As soon as the news of Magenta reached the city the municipal council proclaimed union with Piedmont, and it was only the hurried departure of the Austrians that prevented a repetition of the scenes of the Five Days. On the 7th the French troops began to arrive, and on the following day the two armies made their triumphal entry amid the well-joy of the population. The reception touched the Emperor and his proclamation (June 8) seemed to sanctify the highest aspirations of the Italians. My army, he said, will be concerned only to fight your enemies and maintain order at home. It will place no obstacle to the free manifestation of your patriotic wishes. Italy took him at his word. Milan and Carrara had already risen as soon as word had been received. They had driven out the Grand Duke, and on the 10th the King Victor Emmanuel proclaimed himself Emperor of Italy to Piedmont, the Dukes of Modena and Parma, their Austrian garrisons, and both states renounced the annexationist decrees of 1848 (June 13). The Austrian garrison left Bologna (June 11), within a week the revolution spread

¹ I have generally followed Lecomte's account of the battle (*campagne d'Italie*). It is impossible to reconcile the various descriptions, especially as to the hours of the different incidents.

² See below, p. 82.

through the passes of the Marone and part of Udina and then to the Po. The plan proposed in the two latter provinces was a march on from the province of Vercelli and the district of Novara.

Meanwhile the Austrians were returning on the Quadrilatero. They had hoped to strike from the north and to take the Alps but they could not concentrate their forces. It only delayed his retreat and led to the final retreat of the Austrians under the French van under Bismarck. The retreat of the Austrians was not interrupted. Had the Alps been taken earlier they might perhaps have cut the Austrians off from the sea. They reached the fortresses of the Alps and the retreat had no further interruption, and the Austrians of the Austrian army was behind the Mincio. The Austrians were repulsed and Francis Joseph took the command of the army. Hess was chief of the staff. The Alps were not seriously protected by Garibaldi's men and the Austrians. As the main army came on Garibaldi was sent to guard the Valtellina and guard the passes of the Solferino and the lake. The passes were not threatened and Garibaldi had perhaps good reason for thinking that his mission was a ruse of the Emperor to remove the irregular forces whose revolutionary character he feared and whose formation he had tried in vain to prevent.

The Alps took up a strong position on the hills round Castiglione to the south-west of the Lago di Garda. Two more French divisions were coming up through Lombardy, and Prince Napoleon's corps was slowly advancing from Tuscany. It was obvious strategy for the Austrians to attack before the reinforcements arrived and Hess hoped to surprise the Alps and drive them back on the Tyrol, where they would be caught between the enemy and the Alps. Early on June 23 the whole Austrian army began to recross the Mincio and by evening its right and centre had occupied the heights of Solferino and San Martino, while on the left large numbers were coming up by the lowlands from Goito.² An accident prevented it from surprising the Allies in their quarters next morning. The Em-

¹ See below, p. 88.

² See Map, Vol. I., p. 231.

peror had decided to advance in force on the 4th and occupy the heights not knowing that the enemy had forestalled him. Early in the summer morning the advancing French found the whole Austrian army in front of them. The Emperor at once converged Baraguay d'Holles and MacMahon's corps and the Guards on his centre in front of Solferino while on the left the Piedmontese attacked the adjoining heights of San Martino and on the right Niel held the flat country between Molera and Gambuzio. All through the morning and afternoon the French centre advanced slowly and with terrible loss and it was not till five o'clock that they were in safe possession of the heights. Niel held his ground against the main onslaught of the enemy with desperate ~~persistency~~ and when towards two o'clock a great storm had the armies and stopped the fighting for a time the Austrian left had made little way and could do no more than cover the retreat of the centre. Meanwhile the Piedmontese had been fighting a practically independent battle round the heights of Pozzolengo and San Martino. Their first attack badly combined and against greatly superior numbers failed at most points and the danger of being cut off from their base at Desenzano compelled the retreat of the greater part of their forces. But before noon the attack was again renewed, the splendid courage of the Piedmontese carried San Martino five times and after a struggle of fourteen hours they dislodged the Austrians at nightfall from Pozzolengo. It was a fiercely contested battle and had the Austrians held the heights in greater strength or Francis Joseph not interfered with the command, the result might well have been different. The better tactics and equal courage of the Allies won the battle against slightly superior odds and a strong position. But it cost them dear, the French lost 12,000 killed and wounded, and the Piedmontese losses were relatively nearly as heavy.

Solferino seemed to promise the early conclusion of the war. The fortresses of the Quadrilateral might yet hold out for some months, but Venice could be captured from the sea, and a victory beyond the Mincio would open the road to Vienna, secure the independence of Italy, probably

the secession of Hungary and the destruction of Austrian influence in Germany. Suddenly on the eve of triumph the Italians found the cup dashed from their lips. The Emperor had made peace, and Venetia was left to the Austrians.

The motives that determined him to this sudden pause in the midst of his triumph were very complex. The difficulties of the war were greater than appeared to the public. Neither Magenta nor Solferino had been very decisive victories, and both might easily have been fatal defeats. The Emperor had learnt to distrust his generals and question his own military capacity. His War Office, from whatever cause, had sent little either in reinforcements or ammunition, and the men who were coming up would not do much more than replace the gaps which fever and battle had made.⁸ And though Austria was in sore straits with her finances exhausted, with Hungarians and Slavs at the point of rebellion, yet she still had vast military resources. There were 150,000 men in Venetia, another 100,000 between Trieste and Vienna. The next battle might have a different issue, and the Emperor knew his danger if he lost again the prestige he had won. His zeal for Italy had considerably cooled. He was irritated by the semi-independent position of Victor Emmanuel's army, sceptical as to the King's military skill, jealous of the contrast between his dashing bravery and his own collected but uninspiring coolness. He complained bitterly and unjustly of the want of enthusiasm in Italy, because the freed provinces could not at once send drilled troops into the field, because false reports told him that the peasants of the Mincio country were hostile. Most of all he resented the events of Central Italy, which threatened not only to upset his scheme of federation, but involve him in unwelcome bickerings with the clerical party at home. Public feeling in Tuscany and Romagna had declared strongly for annexation to Piedmont, Umbria and the Marches were certain to follow their example at the first opportunity, and the Emperor knew that Cavour was working as far as he dared for the union of all Northern and Central Italy into one

great kingdom. If the Italians came out of the war completely triumphant it would be impossible to hold them in. But he had come to Italy declaring that he was to remain there to shake the Holy Father's power. Though the compact of Plombières bound him to allow Piedmont to take Romagna fears of the clericals made him sometimes anxious to evade his promises, and though he had at first consented to let Romagna take its course he was finally determined to leave Umbria and perhaps the Marches to the Pope, and veto Piedmont from annexing Tuscany.¹

But it is improbable that his discontent with the Prussians would have stopped him had not the attitude of Germany threatened real danger to France. During the first part of the war he had been safeguarded by the policy of Prussia. The Berlin government had been threateningly warned by Russia not to stir, and ~~to know~~ that it had everything to gain in Germany from an Austrian defeat. But if France were victorious, Prussia herself might be sooner or later attacked. German sentiment recoiled at a betrayal of the Fatherland to look on while a German state was being defeated by the hereditary enemy. The government solved the dilemma by a policy equally unriendly to both belligerents. It mobilized part of the army and after Magenta offered Austria its armed mediation, if she would leave Prussia mistress of the Federal Diet, and satisfy European opinion by the surrender of her treaties with the Prussians. And though the Austrians were too suspicious of the Prussians to accept the offer, she called out the four federal army corps (June 24), and asked Russia and England to join her in the mediation. Russia increasingly distrustful of the Italian movement, and suspicious that a Habsburg reaction might spread to Poland, agreed to join in a peaceful mediation, and the Prussian cabinet strenuously pushed on its efforts to secure a peace. After Solferino Prussia made it clear to the Austrians that they must not expect armed

¹ See below, pp. 81, 83.

² Bianchi, *Diplomatia*, VIII, 132-133.

³ Bianchi, *op. cit.*, VIII, 142; *Nouvelle Revue*, Oct. 1, 1884, 405; *continua*, Zobi, *Saggio delle mutazioni politiche*, quoted in Tivaroni, *L'Asino*, II, 76.

support from Germany, but at the same time the mobilization on the Rhine frightened the Emperor, who knew that if mediation were offered and refused, it might perhaps be followed by an invasion of the unprotected frontier.¹

Thus everything was tending to make the Emperor anxious to bring the war to a close. It is impossible to weigh exactly the relative weight of each influence: it is probable that military difficulties, the fear of defeat in Venetia, anxiety as to the attitude of Prussia weighed most with him. All Europe, except England, was more or less leagued against his schemes. There is a half truth in Mrs. Browning's picture of the hero beaten by a world, that could not reach to the greatness of his designs: his "great deed was too great" for governments, that hated and dreaded nationality. But his idea was too great for himself, he was afraid of it, for Napoleon III. was always less in execution than in design. And the little personal facts had their force. He was worn out with the tropical heat; the carnage of Solferino, though relatively not great, had made him weep; the Empress wrote exaggerated accounts of the discontent at home and the danger that threatened from Germany.² For some time past he had been debating, whether Prussian unfriendliness might not compel him to pause, and his ministry, if not himself, had already before Solferino been disposed to accept mediation. But he did not wish the initiative to come from Prussia, and a few days after the battle he telegraphed to Persigny, the French minister in London, to sound the English government, whether it would propose an armistice as the preliminary to a peace. Lombardy and Parma, he suggested, should go to Piedmont, and Romagna be governed by Victor Emmanuel

¹ The Prussian and other despatches are printed in Zini, *Storia, Documenti* II. 249-285, 290-297. See also Beust, *Mémoires*, I. 161-162, 181-191. I do not believe *Un Italien en Crise*, 307.

² Mrs. Browning, *Poems before Congress*, Bianchi, *op. cit.*, VIII. 160; Veroli, *Poems*, in *Riv. Lit.*, XXVIII. 369; the Emperor's Address to the Chamber on his return.

³ Gellcken, *Un di Sedan*, 134.

⁴ Della Rocca, *Autobiografia*, I. 460; Cavour, *Lettere*, VI. 406.

⁵ Massari, *La Marmora*, 235; C. D'Azeglio, *Souvenirs*, 606; Gortschakoff's Despatch of June 26.

ready to attack the forts of Venice. The siege guns for Peschiera were coming up, and the Allies prepared for a demonstration in force along the heights from Peschiera to Valeggio. At the moment when Francis Joseph learnt that he could not save Venice, and that Prussia had deserted him, Napoleon's messenger arrived at Verona with proposals for an armistice (July 6). The armistice was signed two days later, and on the morning of July 9 the two Emperors met at Villafranca. Napoleon had all the vantage-ground in making terms. But he was anxious to come to a settlement at any price, and his weak nature failed him, when he came face to face with his rival. Francis Joseph at once refused Napoleon's offer of an independent Venetian Kingdom with Maximilian for its prince,¹ he offered to surrender Lombardy to the Emperor, on the understanding that it was to be passed on to Piedmont, but though he was willing that Venetia should enter an Italian Federation he preferred to fight on rather than surrender it or the fortresses of the Quadrilateral. Parma was tacitly given up to Piedmont, but it was stipulated that Modena and Tuscany should return to their Dukes, and Romagna was implicitly abandoned to the Pope. Napoleon wished to insert a phrase that the Dukes were not to return by force of arms, but again he yielded to Francis Joseph's insistency, believing probably that they would be able to take peaceful re-possession of their thrones. The Emperors pledged themselves to promote an Italian Federation under the presidency of the Pope.²

The news of the armistice was a bolt from the blue to the Italians. It had been concluded with hardly a hint to Victor Emmanuel,³ and when the King heard of the betrayal, he talked indignantly of carrying on the fight alone. But he soon saw its hopelessness, and resigned himself to sign "the infamous treaty." Cavour refused to bow to the inevitable, he had hurried to the camp on hearing the fatal

¹ Bayard de Volo, *Francesco F.*, III. 49, Correspondence — Villafranca, 8.

² Bianchi, *op. cit.*, VIII. 151-154; Bayard de Volo, *op. cit.*, III. 51; Debraux, *Villafranca*, 44, 181.

³ See Della Rocca, *op. cit.*, I. 461.

rumour. Overstrained by the labour of government (he had held the War and Finance, Home and Foreign Offices since hostilities began) the prospect of losing all he had worked for broke down his self-control. Again and again he urged desperate courses on the King, and when the King refused spoke hot and insolent words. But Victor Emmanuel's indignation, though he kept it in check was no less real, and though he could not refuse his signature to the Preliminaries, he added 'so far as it concerns me,' to show that he did not endorse the federation clauses.

CHAPTER XXVIII

AFTER VILLAFRANCA

JULY—SEPTEMBER 1859

Retrospect : Tuscany, April to July ; the revolution ; Prince Napoleon in Tuscany ; conversion of the autonomists : Romagna, May to July ; sack of Perugia ; the Emperor and Romagna. AFTER VILLAFRANCA. FAIRM. RICASOLI. The Commissioners recoiled ; Central Italy solid for Unity ; the Military League ; the Emperor vetoes intervention ; the votes of annexation , annexation refused.

THE news of Villafranca produced something like panic in Italy. For the moment it seemed as if, except for Lombardy, the war had been thrown away, and all its cost of life and money, all the enthusiasm and effort spent in vain. Venetia, Tuscany, Romagna had breathed for a few weeks, only to have their hopes ruthlessly dashed. Their great ally had proved false, and all Europe, except England, was more or less in league against them. Naturally they vented impotent anger on the Emperor, whose courage had failed at the supreme moment. Gratitude vanished in the great disappointment ; Milan and Turin received him in silence, where a few weeks before he and his troops had had such a mighty welcome ; and Orsini's portrait took his place in the lithographers' windows. And so he slunk away from Italy, already knowing all the magnitude of his mistake, conscious that the hopes he had raised would not crouch at his word, and might prove a Frankenstein. "France," said the Parisians, "has made a superb war, and Austria a superb peace." The King, it is said, told him that he would never sign it. Cavour indignantly resigned office : "the Emperor," he said to Kossuth "has dishonoured me before my King ; this peace shall not be made ; I will, if I must, take Della

Margherita in one hand, and Mazzini in the other, and turn revolutionary and conspirator." Their determination reflected the second thoughts of the nation. Villafranca had made the Italians stagger, but it was only for a moment. They fell back on themselves, and found that they were strong to resist. Mazzini's dream of the self-reliant nation was never nearer fulfilment than now. It was a conspiracy of the whole people to baffle the Emperor, and work out their own salvation. To understand how this was possible, we must trace the events of Central Italy since the outbreak of hostilities.

On the eve of the war, the Grand Duke was still resolute in his policy of neutrality. He had refused Austria's offer of a regiment, but recollections of 1849 turned all his feeble sympathies to her. BonCompagni, in Cavour's name, formally asked for his alliance; both the French and Piedmontese governments were anxious to make acceptance easy, and they offered in return to guarantee his throne. Some of the nobles still hankered for autonomy; they wished to save the Lorrainers, if it were possible, and even the democrats would have tolerated them for a time, if the Grand Duke accepted BonCompagni's terms. But nothing could move Leopold, neither the warnings of the loyalist nobles and his own ministers, nor the plain evidence of disaffection and the wavering faith of the army. His refusal of the alliance made the revolution inevitable. There are strong grounds for suspicion that Cavour offered the alliance with a hope that it would be refused, and had sent secret agents to prepare the rising.¹ It needed however no incentive from without. The two nationalist sections had coalesced on the vital point of securing a government, which would be the ally of Piedmont. Even the Mazzinians were willing to let the Liberal nobles be the figureheads of the movement, knowing that their names would win the mass, in whose imagination revolution raised the spectre of socialism.

¹ Castelli, *Ricordi*, 226; Mazzini, *Ad A. Gianelli*, 103. BonCompagni was probably himself quite loyal, in spite of *Further Correspondence* (1859), 12, and *Cusi della Toscana*, 18, 33; see *Lettere ad A. Panizzi*, 309.

The Grand Duke's obstinacy forced them to immediate action. The populace and army would have moved on their own account, and the knowledge of this and Cavour's prompting made the nobles agree to a demonstration, that would compel the Grand Duke to choose between the Piedmontese alliance and at least temporary abdication. Next morning (April 27) Leopold learnt that the troops had proclaimed their defection by demanding leave to hoist the tricolor; that when his son attempted, perhaps without his knowledge, to persuade the artillery of the Belvidere fort to prepare to fire on the city, he had been met by a flat refusal from the officers.¹ The frightened prince forgot his obstinacy, and offered to grant a constitution and conclude the Piedmontese alliance. But it was too late; the demonstrators refused to accept the surrender and demanded abdication. The Grand Duke's pride refused it, but he knew that his cause was doomed. At sunset he left Florence; among the good-humoured farewells of the citizens, and "the revolution went home to dinner."

The other Tuscan cities followed Florence, and 217 out of 246 communes sent in their ready adhesion. A provisional government was appointed; Victor Emmanuel was declared military dictator during the war, though the fears of the autonomists peeped out in the condition that Tuscany should preserve its civil independence. Cavour would at once have accepted the dictatorship, but he found himself fronted by Napoleon's veto. The Emperor intended, if he could do it without exciting the outcry of Europe, to foist a French prince on the throne of a Central Italian Kingdom, and his partisans at Florence had drawn a fanciful picture of the state falling to pieces, an easy prey to the Mazzinians. The Emperor, anxious above all things to prevent a republican movement, sent his fifth army-corps under Prince Napoleon to Tuscany, to make a Mazzinian agitation impossible, and prepare the road which might eventually bring the Prince to the throne. In the meantime he

¹ Zobi, *Cronaca*, I. 403-407; Zini, *Storia, Documenti II.*, 118-128 (the date on p. 127 should be 1858); Mrs. Trollope, *Social Aspects*, 113. The notorious instructions did not order the garrison to actually fire on the city.

would not allow Victor Emmanuel to do more than accept the protectorate of Tuscany; and the King had to refuse the dictatorship on "grounds of high political expediency," and promise to preserve the political autonomy of the state. On the other hand Cavour was successful in obtaining from Napoleon a disclaimer of any design on the Tuscan throne. The disclaimer was half sincere, for though the Emperor never relinquished an idea, he had realised that for the present his scheme would excite too much suspicion in Europe;¹ and the Prince, when he landed at Leghorn (May 23), announced that "Napoleon III. will never let himself be guided by family interests." He seems to have sounded the ground as to his chances, but he soon convinced himself that he had no prospect of success, and touched by the splendid reception he had had, became a strenuous advocate of annexation to Piedmont.² Everything was making straight for union. BonCompagni, an useful, reliable, second-rate man, had been made Piedmontese commissioner, and proved that the difference between the dictatorship and the protectorate was one of words only. His ministry consisted chiefly of autonomist nobles, who still perhaps hoped for the return of the Lorrainers. But they were too patriotic to abandon him, and Ricasoli at the Ministry of the Interior was fast coming to be autocrat of the cabinet. Events had only confirmed his belief in Unity; "Tuscany's duty," he said, "is to make the new Kingdom of Italy." He rejoiced in the growing feeling for annexation, which would lift Tuscany out of a squalid and dangerous isolation; and, when after Palestro the Tuscans sent an address to Victor Emmanuel acclaiming him King of Italy, he and his colleague Salvagnoli signed it to the great anger of the autonomist section of the ministry. But when Cavour, dreading a revival of the Emperor's schemes, promoted a vigorous annexationist

¹ Ricasoli, *Lettere*, III. 34; Poggi, *Memorie*, III. 14; Bianchi, *Diplomazia*, VIII. 498; *contra*, Tabbarrini, *Capponi*, 309.

² Poggi, *op. cit.*, I. 76; Manin e Pallavicino, 33; Bianchi, *op. cit.*, VIII. 96; Cavour, *Lettere*, VI. 403; Kossuth, *Memories*, 185-189; *Lettere ad A. Panizzi*, 307; Zobi, *op. cit.*, I. 378; Rubieri, *Storia*, 144, 171; Bianchi, *Matteucci*, 282.

propaganda, which roused the old local pride and dread of absorption in the stronger state, Ricasoli protested against its obtrusively Piedmontese origin and bias. It was not a mere fusion with Piedmont that he desired, the reduction of Tuscany to a mere province, the loss of its more advanced social legislation, of its "civil primacy" in education and the arts. Tuscany must be an equal and component member of a great Italian Kingdom. Some such conception as this, perhaps even more the inexorable force of events, was rapidly converting the autonomists. Men like Capponi, who had long been wavering between their nationalist feelings and their love of Tuscan customs and Tuscan independence, began to declare for union with Piedmont, if it were on conditions and without fusion. The thoroughgoing autonomists themselves were anxious to prevent a Napoleonic state at any cost, and annexation would safeguard them alike against Prince Napoleon and Mazzini. The ministry followed the drift of opinion, and even Ridolfi, dear as Tuscan autonomy was to him, was prepared to sacrifice it, if necessary. Within a week of the Milan proclamation the cabinet voted unanimously for Victor Emmanuel's sovereignty. The Emperor was wavering, realising that for the time his cousin's chances had gone, and feeling bound by his Milan promises. Cavour thought that he might win him, if he could prove that Tuscany was unanimous for annexation, and with this in view, and apparently with the Emperor's approval, he asked for petitions in favour of union.¹ Tuscany readily responded; Siena was the first to sign, Pisa, Lucca, Leghorn followed, and eventually petitions came in from 225 of the 246 communes, representing eleven-twelfths of the population.

While in Tuscany the nationalist movement had prospered and strengthened with each successive week, it had had a chequered course in the Papal States. The revolution had been as unanimous as in 1831 and 1848. Every city

¹ Poggi, *op. cit.*, I. 76, 96-104; III. 14-15; Ricasoli, *op. cit.*, III. 126-127
Bianchi, *Diplomazia*, VIII. 100; *contra*, Ricasoli, *op. cit.*, III. 139.

in Romagna followed the example of Bologna, and within a week the insurrection had spread through the Marches to Ancona and as far as Perugia in Umbria. The Pope excommunicated the authors of the revolution and prepared to recover his territory by force. The Swiss troops stormed Perugia (June 20), and though the best men of the city had gone to fight in Lombardy, and the defenders had only a few hundred old muskets, they made a stiff defence. The Papal government had given Schmidt, the Swiss colonel, orders to make an example of the city, and his men were promised leave to loot it. Desecrated churches, burnt and plundered houses, women and old men massacred in cold blood made up the shameful tale of outrage. The Pope rewarded the brutal soldiery, and, like the English government after Peterloo, coined a medal in memory of the infamous deed.¹ The fall of Perugia carried with it the submission of Umbria and the Marches, and by June 24 the Papal government had recovered all up to the borders of Romagna at La Cattolica. Farther they did not dare to advance, for there were a few Piedmontese troops at Bologna, and the nationalist volunteers were mustering to resist invasion.

The first act of the Provisional Junta at Bologna was to offer the dictatorship to Victor Emmanuel without conditions. There was little or no autonomist party in Romagna; ever since it had formed part of the Kingdom of Italy, its aspirations had been for union with the provinces of the Po basin. The Turin government was prepared to accept the dictatorship, despite the King's scruples, and D'Azeglio was appointed Commissioner in Victor Emmanuel's name. But again the Emperor put his veto. It was not that he had any prepossession in favour of the Papal power. He had promised

¹ Zini, *Storia, Documenti II.*, 195-224; Zobi, *op. cit.*, II. 67-74, 130-144, 150-167; Bonazzi, *Perugia*, II. 620-630; Gennarelli, *Governo pontificio*, I. xcvi; II. 650, 664, 677-682. The above are based largely on *Narrazione storica dei fatti accaduti nel Perugia dal 15 al 20 giugno, 1859*, and *Relazione della giunta del governo provvisorio*. There is a weak apology in the *Dublin Review* of September 1859, based mainly on the *Giornale di Roma*. Balan, *Continuazione*, II. 133, and O'Reilly, *Leo XIII.*, 180-181, barely allude to the matter. See also Ricasoli, *op. cit.*, IV. 184; Mrs. Trollope, *op. cit.*, 42-43; *Times* of July 2, 1859.

Cavour at Plombières that Piedmont should have Romagna; he had bound himself anew by the treaty of January; he had told Pepoli, who was in the Junta, that he would never restore the Pope's authority at Bologna; and Prince Napoleon had boasted that the Pope would have nothing left him but Rome and the country up to Tivoli "as a kind of garden."¹ But he had to count on the clerical opposition in France; he had publicly disclaimed any intention to touch the Temporal Power; he was hoping to withdraw his troops from Rome, as soon as the expulsion of Austria from the peninsula removed one reason for the occupation,² and if the Pope's territory were attacked, it would be difficult to get his consent to evacuation. Napoleon indeed had a feeble hope that he might solve the dilemma by persuading the Pope to voluntarily resign part of his state, and allow its incorporation into a Central Italian Kingdom. But the prospects of such a kingdom were daily smaller, and he knew that it was hopeless to expect Pius to concede anything of his free-will to hated Piedmont. Driven to break his word either to the Italians or the clericals, he was inclined for the moment to throw the latter over. The French Liberals were fulminating against the atrocities of Perugia, and the Emperor's game of balance made it necessary to throw them a sop. Generosity and policy alike bade him content the Italians, and just before Villafranca he appears to have given Cavour to understand that he would allow him to have Romagna (July 9).³ But he probably still intended to couple his consent with conditions of Papal suzerainty, hoping perhaps that this would win the Pope to acceptance, and that he could reconcile the Catholics by forbidding any attack on the Marches or Umbria.⁴ A few days later D'Azeglio made his tardy appearance at Bologna,

¹ Veroli, *Pepoli*, in *Riv. Eur.*, XXVIII. 567; Senior in *Fortnightly Review*, Aug. 1879.

² Drouyn de Lhuys' despatch of September 12, 1864; Pantaleoni, *Idea Italiana*, 30.

³ Cavour, *Lettere*, III. 106; Veroli, *op. et vol. cit.*, 571; Bianchi, *op. cit.*, VIII. 110; Masi, *Fra libri*, 124; Massari, *Vittorio Emanuele*, 279; Ricasoli, *op. cit.*, III. 126-127; Cantù, *Cronistoria*, III. 342.

⁴ *Affaires étrangères 1860*, 87; Zobi, *op. cit.*, II. 94.

with powers toned down to meet the Emperor's wishes. But quietly putting his instructions on one side, he took the practical direction of the government, and Cavour, surrendering for the moment his plans on Umbria, boldly encouraged the Marches to revolt.¹

Thus it was that before Villafranca the feeling for unity had grown strong in all Central Italy. The dispossessed princes had lost their few supporters. The discovery of the Belvidere plot and the presence of the Grand Duke's son in the Austrian army at Solferino had discredited the Lorrainers even among those who felt most tenderly towards them. The sack of Perugia had made Romagna arm to resist the Pope's mercenaries at any cost. And sentiment and practical necessities combined to make all sections of the nationalists daily keener for a strong kingdom, which should comprise all Northern and Central Italy. Cavour had talked boldly after Magenta of the rise of a great Italian state, based on unity of race and tongue and tradition. But there was still an undercurrent that made for autonomy. Men like Capponi and Ridolfi were willing to accept annexation, because they saw no alternative, but it was against the grain. Union with Piedmont would still be somewhat of a *mariage de convenance*, and leave behind it hankerings for the old state-independence to be the seed of future trouble. Villafranca changed all this. Federation was impossible with the Austrians in Venetia, with the Papal army threatening at La Cattolica, and the Duke of Modena waiting with his troops for an opportunity to cross the Po. The federal body would be either a lifeless form, or a battleground between the two principles, which must sooner or later end in war. The princes must be kept out at any cost, the republic must be outbid; the freed provinces must stand together and stand by Piedmont. Unity was no longer a counsel of expediency but a faith; and when Rattazzi, who had succeeded Cavour, attempted to carry out the terms of Villafranca, he found himself in front of an universal conspiracy to defeat them.

¹ Bianchi, *op. cit.*, VIII. 111; Massari, *op. cit.*, 277; Alessandri, *Fatti delle Marche* 72 quoted by Balan

The Central Italians found two leaders of the stamp they needed: men of dogged, unbending resolution, not afraid of responsibility, whom neither threats nor flattery, intrigue nor danger could move. Cavour had had the prescience to send his friend and colleague Farini to Modena, when the province revolted after Magenta. Farini was a doctor of Ravenna, who had been mixed up in the network of Romagnuol conspiracy, which culminated in the Rimini movement. After a brief exile he returned under Pius' amnesty, and took a leading part among the moderate Liberals of his province; he overdid his party's dislike of radicalism, and the book, which he afterwards published on the recent history of the Roman State, was venomous and unfair. In 1849 he took refuge in Piedmont, became perhaps Cavour's first parliamentary follower, and gave him to the end a faithful but dignified obedience. He was not a popular man; he was vain, opinionative, fond of display and luxury. But he was an honest, brave patriot, with a rapid intuitive power of grasping a situation, and a quick, strong, unhesitating resolve in execution. Probably like Cavour's, his belief in unity was at first a pious faith, which developed slowly and as events encouraged it. But whatever may have been his doubts before the war, the events of the last two months had made him a fervent disciple of the Unitarians, and Villafranca had roused him to defy French dictation and Austrian threats.

Tuscany had for its leader one of the noblest figures in the history of modern Italy. Bettino Ricasoli was one of the Liberal nobles, who made the Georgofil Society, and led the constitutional movement in Tuscany in 1847-8, till the power passed from them to the democrats. His early political career was neither successful nor quite consistent. Since the restoration he had lived in proud seclusion on his estates, teaching and training his peasants, reclaiming land in the Maremma, reviving the manufacture of Chianti wine. He was roused from the dejection that followed his wife's death in 1852 by the drama that was unfolding in Piedmont. As early as 1856 he had become an enthusiast for unity, dreaming that Italy would win her freedom for

herself, disdaining reliance on diplomacy and foreign help. But as Cavour's programme developed, he saw that every patriot must rally round it, and however ill to his liking the French alliance may have been, he resolved that Tuscany must set an example of discipline and abnegation for the sake of union. But he had no desire to see the new Italy a Piedmont writ large. He was not willing to surrender Tuscany with its old civilisation and ancient pride and humane institutions to anything less than Italy. The Kingdom that was to be must take what was best in the laws and institutions of each province, and from them all evolve a better common constitution, in which Tuscany with its advanced civil legislation would supply the model for much.

Ricasoli was heir of an ancient feudal race, and his lineage stamped his nature. He was an autocrat by every instinct; proud, fearless, self-reliant, he "felt strong enough to have lived in the twelfth century"; a stark, energetic man, who, as landlord, ruled his tenants with exacting sternness, while he civilised and enriched them; who as statesman, preferred to "work by himself and with himself," distrustful and contemptuous of others, refusing to bow to King or people, and who in after days, as premier of Italy, disdained to draw his salary or wear a court dress. But the man, who was a patrician in every fibre of his being, who had none of Cavour's free and genial manners, was a thoroughgoing democrat in creed, with a republican contempt for courts,¹ and a readiness to work with every honest man, however extreme a politician. His was a very earnest passion to serve his country; in youth his ambition had been "to give head and heart to Tuscan agriculture"; in later life his hope was to help in making Italy great and respected, prosperous and religious. To a zeal for morality as keen as any devotee's, he joined a strong practical concern for agriculture and railways, for all that touched the material condition of the people. He was sometimes called a Protestant. He disclaimed the name, but his whole moral equip-

¹ He had a theoretic belief in republicanism, but thought it impracticable: Gotti, *Ricasoli*, 123

ment was evangelical and Puritan. His letters sometimes startlingly resemble Cromwell's; he had the same austere piety, the same mixture of introspection with resoluteness in action, the same habit of sententious but quite genuine moralizing. At one period of his life he wished to be a missionary, and he loved to expound the Bible to his peasants in the hall of his feudal castle at Brolio. And though a Catholic by profession, he was a Protestant in spirit; he had an erastian contempt for the clergy, he was a friend of the Protestant Guicciardini,¹ he detested the Papal court as "an abominable and rotten bier." But with all his democratic beliefs, he was not a man to be a popular hero. Though his speeches and circulars had power to move, though men instinctively followed him, he was never likely to be the idol of a nation in the sense that Cavour was. He was a pedant for political decorum, and his cold propriety of manner, his disregard of his colleagues, his loathing of all finesse made him a leader more respected than liked. He was a brave, supremely honourable man, who went straight to his end without flinching, the Leonidas of a political Thermopylæ. But his strength was of will more than of intellect; he had the faults of a man, who had lived apart from public life, an obstinacy in details, a temper that was easily ruffled, an insistence on his own importance. He could command, but he could not argue, and when brought face to face with a clever opponent, he either took refuge in unpersuasive silence, or yielded with a facility that contrasted strangely with his usual strength. But in a station of command he had an iron nature; his want of suppleness, his pedantic regard for forms, his occasional incapacity to grasp the kernel of a matter, if they unfitted him for parliamentary life, made him all the stronger, where the issue was simple and the danger great.

Directly after Villafranca the Turin government telegraphed instructions to the Commissioners at Bologna, Florence, Modena, and Parma to resign and return. But Cavour was resolved not to leave office without another effort to save his work. To Farini he telegraphed "arms

¹ See above, Vol. I., p. 373.

and money," he told D'Azeglio to go on his way without regard for Villafranca, and with more hesitation advised Ricasoli to hold on to power and summon a representative assembly. The King encouraged them to stand firm; "if any one doubted my loyalty," he told the Tuscan agent, "I would blow my brains out." The Commissioners were men to rise to the occasion; BonCompagni might retire, for he left in Ricasoli a better man behind him, but D'Azeglio, who had been only four days at Bologna, refused to return, till he could leave a settled government behind and a force of volunteers to protect the frontier from the Swiss troops in Umbria; and Farini, left without troops or money, resigned his commissionership to be appointed next day dictator at Modena (July 28), and soon afterwards at Parma. "I will lose my life," he declared, "before any one drives me out." "I am master of the people," he telegraphed to Ricasoli, "we shall triumph with union, energy, and, if necessary, audacity; I have it." They knew that if they abandoned their posts, there was little hope for Central Italy; there would be disorder, perhaps a futile struggle, then reaction, and all the work of the last year to be done over again. They had the people solid behind them; "Italy," Farini said, "has not signed the peace of Villafranca," and they knew that to defeat it, Central Italy would stand by them almost as one man. There was no difference as to this between Conservatives and Liberals; while Ricasoli's democrat friend, Dolfi, the Florentine baker,¹ improvised a national guard, Ridolfi, hitherto so undecided, proposed a levy in mass, if it proved necessary to fight. "While diplomacy is treating," the government announced, "Italy must arm." All the efforts of the Grand Duke's friends found no response. There was some danger of disorder in Tuscany, but it was the expression of exasperation against the Emperor and of alarm for Leopold's return. "If Tuscany is allowed to decide its own fate," wrote Ricasoli, "I guarantee perfect order." On this side was a resolute people, led by men who flinched at no danger, determined to surrender to nothing but overwhelming force; on that the ministry at Turin, without

¹ See the sketch of him in Martinengo-Cesaresco, *Characters*, 42.

courage or conviction, swayed hither by its own cowardice, thither by shame of surrendering the nation's hopes. And behind it loomed the would-be arbiter of nations, whose great refusal had made the dilemma, full of schemes of more or less generous conception, but tortured by a sense of failure and the knowledge how rotten was the base on which his own throne stood, urging his restless mind to find some loophole by the tortuous diplomacy he loved.

The four states at once drew together for common protection. The Papal mercenaries, perhaps with the Neapolitans or Spanish¹ behind them, might at any moment burst into Romagna, or the Duke of Modena cross the Po from Venetia and make a dash for his capital. It was equally necessary to have a force to put down disorder, and avoid the pretext for intervention that any disturbance would give. There were already 8000 volunteers on the Umbrian frontier at La Cattolica, and Farini with Ricasoli's consent stopped the Tuscan troops on their way from the seat of war to guard the line of the Po. At D'Azeglio's suggestion he proposed to form a military League of the four states, and raise an army of at least 25,000 men. Both he and Ricasoli hesitated for a moment whether to admit Romagna, and weaken the case of Modena and Tuscany by mixing them up with the thorny Papal question;² but they preferred the risk to the cowardice of deserting the sister state, and a military convention was signed between Modena, Tuscany, and Romagna (Parma adhering at a later date), though the contracting governments were still careful to guard themselves from any obligation to defend Romagna, should the Catholic Powers intervene. The Turin ministry with considerable hesitation sent Fanti, perhaps the ablest of the Piedmontese generals, to organise the army of the League, with Garibaldi as his second in command.

Central Italy was now secure from a raid. It would of course have been impossible for the slender forces of the League to make a prolonged resistance, if Austria moved to restore the dispossessed princes. But the danger of Austrian

¹ Correspondence—Villafranca, 46.

² Ricasoli, *op. cit.*, III. 171, 203; Bianchi, *op. cit.*, VIII. 574.

intervention soon passed. Napoleon found that restoration was impossible without force of arms, that contrary to his calculations not even Tuscany would take back its Grand Duke. The clause relating to the Dukes in the Preliminaries of Villafranca had purposely left it ambiguous whether force might be employed for their restoration, and the Emperor had from the first vetoed any foreign intervention. He was glad enough to find an excuse for escaping from his promises to Austria, provided he could plead that the stubborn attitude of the Central States had forced his hand. He would summon a Congress of the Powers, and shelter himself behind their verdict from his irreconcilable obligations. Backed by Russell's energetic protests, he let it be known that he would allow no Austrian intervention either in Tuscany or Romagna; he had left 50,000 men in Lombardy, and he knew that the threat was sufficient to deter Austria with her ruined finances and domestic difficulties.¹

Reassured as to the Emperor's intention, the Central governments felt that they only needed to be firm and not allow themselves to be frightened. The Emperor's veto had put a ring-fence round them, and safe from Austrian intervention they were masters of their own destinies. Whatever might be the Emperor's theories as to their future fate, they knew that sooner or later he must accept the position they made for themselves, and that public opinion would force the Piedmontese government to follow. It was their obvious policy therefore to compromise themselves and him. They had already decided to summon a representative Assembly in each state, and the elections, on a restricted franchise in Tuscany and Romagna, on manhood suffrage in Modena and Parma, had everywhere resulted in the triumph of the nationalists.² By unanimous

¹ *Riv. stor. del risorg.*, III. 126; Poggi, *op. cit.*, III. 163, 167; Veroli, *op. et vol. cit.*, 570; Kossuth, *op. cit.*, 418; Correspondence—Villafranca, 10, 15, 57, 95; Capponi, *Lettere*, III. 292; Bianchi, *op. cit.*, VIII. 207, 550, 564; Ricasoli, *op. cit.*, III. 158, 169.

² The figures as to the heaviness of the Tuscan polls are conflicting: Galeotti, *Assemblea*, 9-12, 21; Zobi, *op. cit.*, II. 552; Correspondence—Villafranca, 54-55, 99. The successful deputies had very large majorities. Dupan-

votes (only three deputies were absent in Tuscany and one in Romagna) the Assemblies pronounced the downfall of the old governments and the annexation of their states to the kingdom of Victor Emmanuel. Parties had disappeared; with admirable self-control the latent political divisions were kept under, and Central Italy showed an united front, that won the astonishment and admiration of Europe.

It remained to be seen what course the Piedmontese government would take. It was recognized that Rattazzi's cabinet was only a provisional one, to tide over the interval till Cavour's return to power. Its origin implied that it must accept the terms of Villafranca, and more or less follow the Emperor's lead. But though to a certain extent it represented the narrower Piedmontese school, Rattazzi had a tepid belief in unity,¹ and it could not altogether abandon the nationalists. To so much the King had committed them; he had promised "never to abandon the people, who had trusted in him," and his friendliness to Garibaldi pointed to a wish to employ him for bigger developments some day. His scruples as to touching the Pope's dominions had, it would seem, vanished under the stress of feeling, that Villafranca had produced. His ministers cared nothing for Papal thunders, but they dared not alienate the Emperor. They knew how difficult it was to disembarass themselves of the ally, who had fixed himself so tightly on their back, that if Central Italy were annexed, he would insist on compensation in Savoy; and Rattazzi himself knew that with Savoy Nice would have to go. There was a real danger too that, if the Emperor were irritated, he might withdraw his troops and his guarantee against intervention, and Piedmont be left alone to a terrible struggle with Austria. Bolder men would have accepted the first and risked the second, knowing how crippled Austria lay, how improbable it was that Napoleon would leave Italy to be overrun by his old enemy. But though Rattazzi would perhaps have taken

loup's figures (*Souveraineté*, 382) are inaccurate, at all events as regards Modena. A plebiscite at Parma gave a vote of 56,000 for annexation, and less than 500 against it: Correspondence—Villafranca, 93.

¹ Mme. Rattazzi, *Rattazzi*, I. 338.

a bolder line, and was prepared to surrender Savoy, if Nice could be saved,¹ his colleagues dared not risk the possibility of a crushing defeat, dared not face the clamour that would descend on them, if they sacrificed the cradle of the royal house and the home of Garibaldi. So like the weak men they were, they steered a middle course, waiting on the Emperor's pleasure, but refusing to commit themselves to his schemes, and trusting that the chapter of accidents would some day find them a solution. From the first indeed they refused to accept the principle of federation, hoping that at the Congress of the Powers, which, it was assumed, would meet before long, they would get European sanction for the votes of annexation. If Naples sent troops into Central Italy, they would fight; but beyond this they would do nothing without the Emperor's approval.² Before the deputations from the four Assemblies reached Turin to lay the votes before the King, they sent to sound Napoleon's wishes (August 28).

Though the Emperor had declared against intervention, though he was reconciling himself to the annexation of Parma and perhaps of Modena, though there were moments when he was inclined to let Italy have her way, his policy was on the whole set against permitting Piedmont to take either Romagna or Tuscany. It was not alone the fear of the French Catholics which influenced him. All the traditional policy of France forbade the formation of a strong Italian Kingdom, which, as he foresaw himself, might some day enter an anti-French coalition. A federation of constitutional states possessed no such danger; it would, he trusted fondly, acquit him of his promises to the Italians; and though Italy and Austria were conspiring to make it impossible, he had still the pride of authorship in the unhopeful scheme. His agreement at Villafranca to promote reforms in the Papal States was a tacit engagement to repudiate his promises to the Romagnuols, and he pledged

¹ Cavour, *Lettere*, IV. 255.

² Bonfadini, *Arese*, 202-203; Bianchi, *op. cit.*, VIII. 171, 546; Ricasoli, *op. cit.*, III. 170; Poggi, *op. cit.*, I. 142; III. 105; Castelli, *Carteggio*, I. 203, 211; Mme. Rattazzi, *op. cit.*, I. 434. Ricasoli, *op. cit.*, III. 240, is incorrect.

himself freshly and deeply to the Pope and the clericals to suffer no violence to the Temporal Power. But he hoped to win Pius to some scheme of Home Rule for Romagna, which would at once preserve his suzerainty and satisfy the nationalists, vainly dreaming that the promised headship of the Federation might lure him to the concession.¹ Perhaps at a future day, if he felt strong enough to break with the Pope, Romagna and the Marches and possibly Umbria might join a kingdom of Central Italy. But at all events he would allow no annexation even of Romagna; and he was even more opposed to Piedmont taking Tuscany, knowing that if Victor Emmanuel's kingdom crossed the Apennines, it meant sooner or later Italian Unity, and a yet more troublous stirring of the Roman problem. He had indeed quite relinquished all expectation of placing Prince Napoleon on the throne of Tuscany; but whether it returned to the Grand Duke, or went to a prince of the Savoy House, or to the young Duke of Parma, at all events the King of Piedmont's writ must not run there.² No doubt his plans were in a state of constant change, and drifted with the impression of the moment. Much depended on his power to defy the French clericals and outwit his own ministers; much depended on the attitude of England, more on the temper of the Italians. At present at all events he clung to his scheme of federation, and when the message reached him from Turin, put his prompt veto on annexation. When therefore the Tuscan deputation³ came before the King (September 3), the Turin government had decided not to accept. An evasive reply was put into the King's mouth, but in private conversation he encouraged the deputies to read between its lines, and act and speak as if union were accomplished.

¹ Veroli, *op. et vol. cit.*, 570; Bianchi, *op. cit.*, VIII. 599; *Affaires étrangères* 1860, 87.

² Poggi, *op. cit.*, I. 184; III. 88, 95; Veroli, *loc. cit.*

³ Its spokesman was Ugolino della Gherardesca, descended from him of the Tower of Hunger; Verdi was a member of the Parmesan deputation.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE ANNEXATION OF THE CENTRE

SEPTEMBER 1859—APRIL 1860

Central Italy firm ; Farini projects a political League ; " Piedmontising ; ' the Regency question ; Napoleon III. in October ; Piedmont and the Regency. The democrats ; plans for attacking Umbria ; Garibaldi recalled. Election of Regent ; the BonCompagni compromise. Napoleon III. and the Congress ; English policy ; "*Le Pape et le Congrès.*" Cavour and the ministry ; the Free Committees ; Rattazzi resigns ; CAVOUR PREMIER. SAVOY AND NICE ; Cavour, Napoleon III., and England ; the treaties of cession ; the plebiscites for ANNEXATION. The Italian Parliament.

It was impossible for Central Italy to be wholly contented with the King's reply. It was willing indeed to take his and Cavour's assurance that at present no more could be dared. But while the Turin government might have to make allowances for the diplomatic difficulties and avoid a rupture with the Emperor, Ricasoli and Farini could boldly disregard his mandate. They took the broader interpretation of the King's words, and assumed that Victor Emmanuel was " King by right of election and his own consent." Meanwhile much might be done to prepare for the day, when union would be a reality. The army of the League now numbered 45,000 men. Except for a small movement among the peasants round Ferrara, there was absolute order. Tuscany, so backward when action was needed, showed that she possessed fine virtues of patience and persistence. Not all the intrigues that were industriously set on foot by the partisans of the dispossessed princes disturbed Farini's and Ricasoli's rule. Ricasoli was in fact dictator in all but name. He had won the people by his steadfastness, his plain speaking, his refusal to wrap his policy in mystery ; and they

hardly grumbled at the indefinite prorogation of the Assembly and the curbs which he put on the freedom of the press. Farini was reforming with feverish activity at Modena and Parma; purging the civil service, expelling the Jesuits, enfranchising the Jews, introducing the commercial code of Piedmont. At Bologna D'Azeglio had been succeeded by Cipriani, the commandant at Leghorn in 1848, who owed his appointment to an old friendship with the Emperor; and though his harsh rule caused much heartburning, it was kept below the surface, to avoid weakening the hands of the government.

Farini's policy was to draw the Central States together, giving them a more or less common government, and assimilating their laws to those of Piedmont, so that when Victor Emmanuel actually assumed the government, he would find the consolidation of the old and new provinces virtually accomplished. His proposal was to graft on the existing military League a single political direction, which, without superseding the four existing governments, would be a symbol of their solidarity and a safeguard against discord. The government at Bologna supported him for its own special reasons, hoping that his scheme would prevent the fate of Romagna being sundered from that of the other states. Ricasoli objected, his flimsy pretexts cloaking a fear that an union of the four states would encourage the partisans of a Central Italian Kingdom. He felt, as Cavour did for the same reason, that the League might prove more of an obstacle than a help to union with Piedmont; and he was still afraid of complicating the fate of Tuscany with that of Romagna. It is very questionable, however, whether, dangerous as was the diplomatic move for a Central State, the adoption of Farini's mild scheme would have increased the risk; and Ricasoli's opposition was probably due in part to a growing rivalry with the dictator of Modena, in part too to a conviction that fusion meant an early adoption of Piedmontese law by all the component states. Farini was gradually introducing it, even where the native law, as in Parma, was in many respects more advanced. In Tuscany the democrats and a section of the

cabinet, encouraged by Rattazzi, were trying to "Piedmontise" the native institutions. Ricasoli successfully resisted them. It was not that he wanted to postpone reform. He was introducing many practical industrial and administrative improvements, and Ridolfi was trying to make Florence the educational and artistic centre of the new kingdom.¹ But reform, he urged, need not necessarily be on Piedmontese lines. Unity to Ricasoli meant something quite other than a tame acceptance of the laws and institutions of Piedmont. He was willing, however, though not with the best of grace, to recognize Piedmontese money, to abolish customs-lines and passports, to form a postal union; and by the middle of October the economic fusion of North and Central Italy was accomplished.

But the whole question to Ricasoli was of infinitely smaller present moment than that of annexation. Whatever might be their differences on other matters, he and Farini were at one in absolutely refusing to bow to foreign pressure. In fact it required no great acuteness to see that the Emperor must ultimately defer to them, nay perhaps would not be loath to have his hands forced again. He had let it be understood that Walewski's diatribes in the *Moniteur* were only intended to fool the diplomatists. His views as to Tuscany were rapidly changing, and at the end of September he sent a private message, urging the four governments to be firm in maintaining their independence (September 28).² Next day it was secretly agreed among them, that, if the King would not assume direct sovereignty, the Assemblies should be convoked, and his cousin, the Prince of Carignano elected Regent. From this date oaths were taken to "the elected King," the coinage was stamped with his profile, the acts of government were headed with his name. On the last day of September the Piedmontese flag floated from the Palazzo Vecchio.

But the sorely-perplexed Emperor was still far from

¹ 500,000 lire were appropriated for the encouragement of historical pictures and statues. The Bargello was made a national museum. The restoration of S. Lorenzo was decreed.

² Ricasoli, *Lettere*, III. 361; but it is very difficult to reconcile this with Cavour, *Lettere*, VI. 451-452.

reconciling himself to annexation. His message had merely expressed one of his ever-shifting moods. He was still faintly hoping to persuade the Pope to give Home Rule to Romagna and appoint Victor Emmanuel his Vicar.¹ He promised that Parma should go to Piedmont, but though he repeated his guarantee against an Austrian intervention, he told a Florentine deputation that they must accept Ferdinand's son (October 15). The deputation boldly answered him that Tuscany would never take the Lorrainers back, and warned him that, if the Italians lost faith in his intentions, they would spread the revolution to Naples and Sicily. The threat went home; but he was angry at the bitterness of the Turin press, irritated because Rattazzi was repressing the separatist papers in Savoy, miserably oppressed by his engagements to Vienna, and hoping that the Congress would take the whole responsibility out of his hands. Perhaps he would have been glad if Rattazzi had defied him; as it was, the indecision at Turin only vexed him,² and he was still clinging to federation as the happy *via media*, which would satisfy everybody. A few days later (October 20) he wrote an open letter to the King, insisting strongly on federalism, and again vetoing the annexation. If Piedmont would accept his terms, he offered to insist on Home Rule for Venetia and compel Austria to make Mantua and Peschiera federal fortresses.

The Turin ministry, blown to and fro by every wind from Paris or Florence, was winning for itself universal contempt. Rattazzi, stung by the taunt of cowardice, would, it seems, have approved of the Carignano scheme.³ But his colleagues were still unwilling to risk a rupture with France, and perhaps in their hearts disliked a movement, that promised to sink Piedmont in Italy. They had truckled again to the Emperor by sending Dabormida, the Foreign Minister, to the oracle, drawing on themselves D'Azeglio's taunt that 'on a question of honour it was not like a Piedmontese to ask

¹ Correspondence—Villafranca, 148; VielCastel, *Mémoires*, V. 187.

² Castelli, *Carteggio*, I. 230-231

³ Ricasoli, *op. cit.*, III. 370, 431; Correspondence—Villafranca, 175; Castelli, *op. cit.*, I. 220.

advice." And though in reply to the Emperor's letter they again repudiated federation, they allowed the annexation question to drift in almost absolute inaction.

Even the most patient began to despair of them. When men of the stamp of D'Azeglio and Minghetti wished to force their hands, there is little wonder that the ultra-democrats, who had sunk their suspicions under the enthusiasm of the past year, revived their old distrust in the royalist movement. Mazzini had been unwisely and ungenerously excluded from the amnesty, that had been granted to political offenders at the beginning of the war. After Villafranca he had come to Florence, where Ricasoli allowed him to remain on his parole that his presence there should remain unknown. Mazzini was willing to support Victor Emmanuel with the usual reservations. To raise the cry of the republic at this moment, he confessed, would weaken the royal nationalists without helping his own party. But he exaggerated the danger of a Napoleonic kingdom in the Centre and hoped to precipitate annexation by a forward movement. He sent Crispi to stir a rising in Sicily,¹ and urged the reconquest of Perugia, which, he believed, would spread the insurrection through Umbria and the Marches to the Abruzzi, and catch the Bourbons between two fires. If Italian Unity were completed before the Congress met, the Congress, he was confident, would recognize the accomplished fact.

Independently of him La Farina and the National Society were spreading their committees through Romagna, and across the frontier into Umbria and the Marches, collecting arms and preparing for a rising in the enslaved provinces. There was imminent danger of an explosion on the frontier; if the Umbrians revolted, it would be impossible to prevent the patriots of Romagna from going to their help; or the Papal troops might make a raid into Romagna,² where they could count on a certain amount of sympathy among the peasants. So acute was the reaction against the halting policy of Turin, so intense the desire to force the pace, that it carried away men who had little in common with the democrats. Farini and Fanti, without

¹ See below, p. 123.

² See below, p. 128.

consulting Ricasoli,¹ advanced the Tuscan and Modenese troops to the frontier, and placed them under Garibaldi's command, giving him orders to repel any attack and follow it across the frontier, or, should the revolution break out in the Marches or Umbria, to go to its support. Garibaldi had recently started a subscription to buy a million rifles for a national arming; he was already planning the conquest of Naples and Rome;² and in close correspondence with La Farina's committees, and probably with the King, he made no secret of the intended invasion, and kept feeling at fever-heat with his proclamations. Ricasoli was frightened and incensed at the news; it was not only anger at Farini's disloyal action, but fear lest the rash step might complicate the annexations with a development, which would render all Catholic Europe fiercely hostile, and force the Emperor to recall his guarantee. He and Cipriani ordered Fanti to withdraw his troops from the frontier, and when Farini and Fanti defied him, appealed to the Turin government to save the situation. The ministry, probably alarmed by messages from Paris, would apparently have gone so far as to dissolve the Military League and disband half the troops. But though Ricasoli himself hesitated for a moment, he soon recognized the folly of their scheme, and his strong opposition killed it.³ The King now stepped in; in all probability there had been a secret understanding between him and Garibaldi;⁴ but he had come to recognize the danger, and summoned Garibaldi to Turin (October 29), while with more doubtful wisdom he called-on Fanti to resign. Fanti at once obeyed; Garibaldi came to Turin, but Victor Emmanuel's strong liking for him, or a common wish to force the pace, seems to have prevented the King from imposing obedience on his impatient general. Garibaldi refused to promise not to cross the frontier, on the ground that he was pledged to help

¹ Cipriani seems to have wavered as to supporting Farini: Finali, *Contemporanei*, 78-80. For Farini's relations with Mazzini see Pianciani, *Dell'andamento*, 28-29.

² Melena, *Garibaldi*, 95, 97; Spaventa, *Dal 1848*, 265.

³ Finali, *op. cit.*, 78-80, 291.

⁴ Mazzini, *Opere*, XI. lii; Ricasoli, *Lettere*, V. 57; Mario, *Bertani*, I. 401-402; Melena, *Garibaldi*, 73.

the insurrection, if it broke out, though he undertook to do what he could to keep the Marches quiet.¹ On his return to Rimini, hoping no doubt that Fanti's resignation would place himself in supreme command, he threw even this promise to the winds and pushed on the preparations for invasion, while his agents fanned the insurrectionary embers in the Marches. Meanwhile the Assembly at Bologna had compelled Cipriani to resign, and conferred the dictatorship on Farini, who at once united Romagna and the Duchies under the name of Emilia.² Fanti was persuaded to recall his resignation, and the forward party seemed triumphant. But Farini and Fanti had awoke to the terrible risk of their policy; complaints and protests rained in from the courts of Europe; Cavour threw all his weight against the project, and the Umbrians proved unready for revolt. Farini and Fanti decided to stop the raid, and summoning Garibaldi to Bologna, extracted from him a promise to desist (November 12). But again the extremists, who surrounded him, worked on his suspicions; a false telegram that the insurrection had broken out did its work; and within two hours of his promise to Farini he ordered the troops to cross the frontier. Fanti sent them peremptory counter-orders; and it proved how completely Garibaldi had discredited himself, that there was no attempt to disobey. Garibaldi in hot anger hurried to Bologna, and demanded that Fanti and Farini should resign, leaving him military and civil dictator. They indignantly refused, and Garibaldi, powerless to defy them, was two days later again summoned to Turin, where at the King's persuasion he resigned his command, and retired into private life (November 16).

It may seem strange that a movement, which aimed at an object so dear to the patriots, which a year later had such unbroken success, should now have met with general reprobation. But the public felt that it was supremely inopportune; while the destinies of Tuscany and Emilia

¹ I give more credit to Minghetti's report in Ricasoli, *op. cit.*, III. 493-494, than to Ib., IV. 12, and Guerzoni, *Garibaldi*, I. 495-496. See also Ricasoli, *op. cit.*, III. 475; Garibaldi, *Memorie*, 324-325; Correspondence—Villa franca, 175.

² Of course so called from the *Via Emilia*.

were still unsettled, it was the highest imprudence to complicate them with the yet more prickly question of the Pope's remaining territory. Had Garibaldi advanced, he would have found the combined forces of Rome and Naples in front of him; and if Austria had yielded to the temptation to step in, he would have been caught in a trap, from which escape was impossible. The Emperor could not have used his influence to shelter a raid, and Rattazzi would almost certainly have left Garibaldi to his fate. And the glamour of the movement faded in Farini's disloyalty and Garibaldi's abrupt and dishonest changes. Bitterly as he resented the desertion of Farini and Fanti, the wrong was greater on his own side, and he had only himself to thank for the alienation of men like La Farina, whose belief in him had been overpowered by disgust at his tempestuous want of self-control.¹

The Garibaldi episode however, as Ricasoli insisted, was only a secondary matter. But it showed convincingly the danger of the unsettlement. A provisional state of things encouraged every kind of peril; the forward movement might again raise its head; the murder of Anviti² at Parma, his mutilation by the mob, and Farini's slackness in punishing it had created an exaggerated sense of insecurity; there was a small reactionary conspiracy in Tuscany, and the Papal and Neapolitan troops might attack at any moment. With Ricasoli the vital point was to compromise the government at Turin by completing the abortive project of a month before and getting the Prince of Carignano appointed Regent. In the midst of the Garibaldi trouble he thought he saw his chance. Neri Corsini, who was his agent in London, telegraphed that Lord John Russell was in favour of the Regency, and that the Emperor, anxious above all things

¹ For the incident generally see Ricasoli, *op. cit.*, III. 228, 349; Carandini, *Fanti*, 286-294; Guerzoni, *op. cit.*, I. 493-504; Pallavicino, *Memorie*, III. 547, 560; La Farina, *Epistolario*, II. 210, 256, 431; Cavour, *Lettere*, III. cclv; Badiali, *Farini*, 221; Mazzini, *Opere*, X. xciii-cii, cxxi; Id., *Ad A. Gianelli*, 123; Mario, *Bertani*, I. 401-412; Castelli, *op. cit.*, I. 235; Oddo, *I mille*, I. 121; Poggi, *Memorie*, I. 349; *Lettere ad A. Panizza*, 372; and the authorities quoted above, pp. 105-106.

² See above, p. 14. Political assassination was traditional at Parma.

for the English alliance, would recall his veto (October 27). Corsini's message proved to be an error; Russell had expressed himself privately to Panizzi in favour of the Regency, but Palmerston thought it premature, and the Emperor was still opposed.¹ Ricasoli and Farini none the less decided to act in the spirit of the telegram, and found themselves encouraged by the King and Cavour. On November 7 the four Assemblies met and elected the Regent by all but unanimous votes.

The Turin ministry had done everything to prevent the election; failing in it, they insisted that Napoleon's advice should be taken, and the Emperor sent a strongly-worded message that if the King allowed Carignano to accept the Regency, the Congress would not meet, and Piedmont must take the consequences of the provocation to Austria. It was mere bluff on his part,² but Rattazzi did not know this, and Austria had threatened to make it a *casus belli*, if a single Piedmontese soldier entered the Central States. The ministers perhaps would have refused to yield, if they could have secured English support;³ but this was not forthcoming, and as usual they tried to find a middle way. At Cavour's suggestion, they decided that Carignano, while refusing the Regency for himself, should delegate BonCompagni to take the supreme government of Emilia and Tuscany. They stiffened themselves, and announced the decision to Napoleon as an accomplished fact; and the Emperor, finding that threats had no effect, accepted the position with good grace. But Ricasoli would have none of it; it must be "the prince or nothing," and he haughtily boasted that "Tuscany was in his hands and he alone was judge of what was necessary." He resented with all his soul the truckling to the Emperor, save for a Savoy prince, he would surrender no tittle of his power, or tie his own strong hands, which alone, he believed, were able to keep order. Only on one condition would he take BonCompagni, that he came as viceregent of the prince. Ricasoli's misplaced stubbornness

¹ Poggi, *op. cit.*, I. 348, 350; Ricasoli, *op. cit.*, III 475, 483, 492, 501

² Correspondence—Villafranca, 200.

³ Walpole, *Russell*, II. 314.

put the government in a dilemma, but they humoured him by offering to make BonCompagni's powers nominal, and at length (December 3) the King brought him to a compromise, by which BonCompagni was appointed governor-general of the two states, with a merely nominal control over their governments. At Florence the new governor found himself almost ignored by the ministry, and after little more than a month resigned from an intolerable position.

Thus the election of the Regent failed of its mark, and left matters practically as they were before. But the whole tangled business was beginning to unravel at the will of the Imperial arbiter. He was slowly realising that not only the princes could not be restored, but that federation was impossible, and that nothing short of force would compel the Central States to relinquish annexation. Austria, despite her threats, was too weak to intervene, and even had she the strength, the Emperor could not afford to see her influence again predominant in the peninsula. The present suspense, as the Tuscan deputation had warned him, might fire the powder-barrel, and the movement for unity extend the more rapidly to the South; or Italy might become a hotbed of revolution which might breed another Orsini or spread the contagion to France. The peace had been signed at Zurich (November 11), and left his hands freer towards Austria. If a plebiscite of Central Italy decided for annexation, it would finally quit him of his engagements to her, by proving that there was no other possible solution. But if the traditional policy of France were broken, and Italy became a first-rate state, France must have her compensation by rounding off her boundaries. Savoy and Nice would be the price of Central Italy. He was feeling stronger to defy the clericals, he was very anxious to escape from his false position at Rome; and Romagna must go to a government, strong and liberal enough to save it from anarchy. Victor Emmanuel might even send troops to Rome, if disorders broke out there, when the French left.¹

His change of front necessitated a complete reversal of

¹ Castelli, *op. cit.*, I. 237

policy. Hitherto he had used all his influence with England to secure the meeting of the Congress. But a Congress would be fatal to his new schemes; he dared not avow his designs on Savoy and Nice, and the other Catholic Powers, he knew, would never consent to the curtailing of the Pope's dominions. He must make the Congress impossible, and throw himself on the English alliance to support him in an anti-Papal policy. It was a hazardous game, for he must have known that any avowal of his designs on Savoy would alienate England; but they could be kept secret for the present, and meanwhile the alliance would have done its work. While he allowed Walewski for yet another month to talk of restoring Tuscany to the Grand Duke, he was sounding the English government (November 22), whether it would support him in allowing Victor Emmanuel's little son, the Duke of Genoa, to be his father's Regent in Tuscany and Romagna.

The Italian policy of the Palmerston cabinet had three ends in view; to satisfy Italian aspirations by the expulsion of Austria, to clip French influence in Italy, to weaken or destroy the Temporal Power. Lord John Russell had spoken out his indignation at "the Tuscans and Modenese being disposed of as if they were so many firkins of butter," had implicitly encouraged the Tuscans to reject Leopold, and pleaded the cause of annexation at Paris. And though Walewski retorted by threats of compensation in Savoy, and the English court, always morbidly afraid of Napoleon's ambitions, tried to hold the cabinet in check,¹ by the end of October Russell had been able to consent to the Congress, and made no secret of his intention to use it as a screen for Italian designs. But while he insisted that before it met, the Powers should formally renounce all intention of armed intervention, Austria declared roundly for restoration, and Russia and Prussia seemed inclined to follow her lead. The improbability that the Congress would hatch any scheme acceptable to all the Powers no doubt encouraged Napoleon to give the unhopeful project its deathblow.

Just before Christmas an anonymous pamphlet ap-

¹ Martin, *Prince Consort*, IV. 487, 489; Walpole, *op. cit.*, II. 312-314.

peared at Paris, entitled "The Pope and the Congress." Like its fellow of last January, it was written by La Guéronnière, and there was no secret as to the source of its inspiration. Its whole gist was to advocate a reduction of Papal territory. Professedly it wished to obtain at the Congress an European guarantee for the Temporal Power; but the smaller the Pope's dominions, the greater, it argued, was his spiritual authority, and France could not allow either herself or Austria to undo the *de facto* separation of Romagna. And though the pamphlet avoided all reference to the Marches and Umbria, it suggested that the European guarantee should be confined to Rome and the Comarca. It was clear that the Emperor's doubts as to Romagna at all events were at an end; and on the last day of the year he wrote to the Pope, reproaching him for his rejection of the Home Rule scheme, and telling him that this had made the separation of Romagna inevitable. He pushed on the commercial treaty with England; and, dismissing Walewski, whose tenure of the Foreign Ministry had been one long struggle to hold the Emperor back, he appointed in his place Thouvenel, who was an anti-clerical and a friend of the English alliance (January 4, 1860). The new policy at once succeeded in its primary object. The invitations to the Congress had gone out, and the pamphlet had spoken of it as at the point of meeting. But the Emperor knew that the inevitable result of the sensation would be to make it impossible. Austria asked if he intended to advocate the principles of the pamphlet at the Congress, and being informed that such was his purpose, at once withdrew.

The pace had quickened in Italy as well as at Paris. A fortnight after Austria's refusal to enter the Congress, Cavour was again Prime Minister. The strain between him and the Rattazzi cabinet had been steadily growing more tense. "In times like the present," he wrote to La Marmora, "states and their rulers are undone, unless they are bold." He was ill and irritable and unfair, ready to imagine slights where none were meant, and the kind of independent power, which he exercised from his retirement at Leri, only increased the difficulties of the government. Still his

criticism was right in the main, and his growing hostility only reflected the general disgust felt for the "ignoble valets," who truckled to the Emperor, and seemed so lukewarm in the national cause. Their "fabulous unpopularity" was increased by discontent at the drastic and unfortunate changes, which Rattazzi, using the King's temporary dictatorial powers, was introducing into Lombardy. Rattazzi had always more or less represented the school, which aimed at modelling Italy on Piedmont; and great as was the need of reform, the hasty ill-digested character of his "organic laws" courted criticism. It was certain that when the Chamber met, the ministry would fall at once; or if Cavour were sent to represent Piedmont at the Congress, he would return with a prestige, that would make his accession to office inevitable. His friends mustered their forces to secure his appointment, bitterly and unfairly attacking the ministers, who with admirable absence of party spirit wished to nominate him. It is certain now that the mysterious delay in his appointment, which filled the country with anger and suspicion, was due to the King's reluctance to see him back in power.¹ He had never forgiven him for his attempt to part him from his mistress, and long before the war he had wearied of his domineering premier; during the campaign he had shown a marked preference for Rattazzi, and Cavour's language after Villafranca could not be forgotten. It seems as if he hoped to escape ever calling his great minister to office again, for he had welcomed to court men like Brofferio and Valerio, whose ultra-radicalism was weaker than their fanatical hatred of the ex-premier. Whether openly encouraged by the King or not, they and their followers of the Extreme Left were straining every nerve to prevent Cavour's return to office. With strange short-sightedness, if it was not indeed pure partisan animus, they preferred Rattazzi's pseudo-progressive domestic programme to Cavour's bolder national policy, and formed a cove, to which out-of-date politicians like Guerrazzi rallied. Early in December they organised

¹ Massari, *La Marmora*, 260, Cavour, *Lettere*, III. cccxviii; VI. 508; Castelli, *Ricordi*, 130, 298, 301, 318.

themselves under the name of the Free Committees. A good deal of mystery hangs over the intrigue. The ministers were freely charged with encouraging the plot, and though there is no positive proof of their complicity, there is strong evidence to implicate at least Rattazzi.¹ At all events the object of the cabal was to crush Cavour, and if Cavour went, with him would go his national policy. His friends in the Chamber promptly met the plot by forming a "Liberal Union," and its success alarmed the King into sanctioning Cavour's appointment to the Congress (December 22). The intriguers saw that their only hope of preventing Cavour's return to power was by stirring a vigorous agitation outside parliament. To serve the unscrupulous move they hoped to enlist Garibaldi. He had left Romagna sore and angry, declining the promotion, which the King offered him, and after a month of quiescence bursting into violent invective against the priests. In his explosive state of mind, trying to find a vent it little mattered in what direction, it was not difficult for the caballers to capture him. There can be little doubt that Rattazzi and the King had their part in this stage at all events of the unsavoury business, and held out hopes (December 28) that they would back him in a forward policy, perhaps in an attack on Umbria. The King was probably sincere; Rattazzi was fooling him for his own party ends. Intent on his Umbrian project, Garibaldi appealed to the Free Committees to change their title to that of the "Armed Nation," hoping no doubt to get their help for his fantastic scheme of the million rifles. They acquiesced with suspicious alacrity, and appointed Garibaldi their President.²

¹ La Farina, *op. cit.*, II. 271-272, 585-586; Ricasoli, *op. cit.*, IV. 157; Cavour, *op. cit.*, VI. 530. The evidence, however, is not so strong as that relating to the second stage of the plot.

² *Lettere ad A. Panizzi*, 403, 407-408; Garibaldi, *Memorie*, 328-329; Mario, Bertani, I. 421-425; La Farina, *op. cit.*, II. 272; Cavour, *op. cit.*, VI. 526; Castelli, *Carteggio*, I. 280, 283; Revel, *Da Ancona*, 34; Guerzoni, *op. cit.*, I. 506-507; Pianciani, *op. cit.*, 57.

In this, as in the projected raid of October, there is a good deal yet to be explained. I do not think that there is any connection between the plot and Crispi's interview with Rattazzi on December 27, for which see below, p. 124.

But the ignoble intrigue was still-born. Neither in parliament nor the country did it find the smallest response. The ministry made haste to discountenance it, and Garibaldi, puzzled and angry at the whole business, dissolved the association (January 4, 1860). It had only proved how irresistible was Cavour's hold on the nation. The ministry was clearly tottering to its fall. In Central Italy the impatience was threatening to become dangerous. Rattazzi again had to suffer for his colleagues' cowardice,¹ and not only the members of the Liberal Union, but nationalists of every colour outside parliament felt with D'Azeglio that nothing could be done so long as he was minister. A baseless suspicion that Hudson was interfering in a dispute between Cavour and the Cabinet gave it an opportunity of retiring under a show of dignity. On January 16 Cavour was again prime minister. A great outburst of relief and joy hailed his return; the country felt that the time of suspense was over, and that it could again march on to its destinies.

It has sometimes been said that Cavour only reaped the fruits of Rattazzi's patient waiting. There is this much truth in the theory, that the pertinacity of the Central States and the Emperor's change of front had made the path much smoother than it had been during all the first period of Rattazzi's administration. What would have been temerity in the early autumn, now required only a prudent courage. But it was just this courage that Rattazzi, or at all events his colleagues, lacked, not even the Emperor's declared desertion of the Pope had spurred them to action. Cavour exploited to the full the favourable conjunction, which shone on his return to power. His policy, he promised, would be "Italian to the extreme bounds of possibility." He ignored Garibaldi's nascent hostility; he encouraged Medici; he was ready to cooperate with the men of the Extreme Left, whose patronage by Rattazzi a few weeks before had roused his indignation. Probably he was already aiming at unity in its fullest sense;² when Tuscany and

¹ Ricasoli, *op. cit.*, IV. 160, 164.

² Cavour, *op. cit.*, III. 400; Chiala, *Politica segreta*, 110; La Rive, *Cavour*, 401.

Romagna had been annexed, the Revolution would add Naples and Sicily, and Umbria and the Marches with free Italy on both sides of them would abjure the Pope; then there would be a breathing space, till the united strength of the nation poured on the Quadrilateral and won Venice. And though a year ago he had prayed that he might not be involved in "the hornet's nest" at Rome, facts were leading him to set his eyes as earnestly as Mazzini did on the eternal city. But one step must come at a time, and come slowly. Though he was secretly encouraging the unitarians of Sicily, he was anxious to prevent complications there at present, and willing if necessary to wait some years before attempting to win Southern Italy.¹ Though it was "only a truce" with Austria, he was working to prevent a premature plunge into the war of deliverance. His immediate object was to win Emilia and Tuscany, and on this he took an uncompromising stand. When parliament met, the deputies of Central Italy must be there to take their seats; and already Fanti's appointment to the War Ministry, while he still commanded the army of the League, marked the *de facto* union. That Nice and Savoy must both go, unless indeed some fortunate accident rescued them, he knew; but he and Victor Emmanuel were prepared to make the sacrifice, and face the unpopularity, which had frightened Rattazzi's colleagues.

The cession of Savoy to France, to balance the eastward march of Piedmont, had come up from time to time in the schemes of European statesmen since the days of Henri IV. Thiers had intrigued for it in 1840,² and the republic of 1848 had only continued the traditions of French diplomacy, when Lamartine and Bastide hoped to win the province.³ The interests of Savoy demanded union with France; commercially it was hemmed in between the Alps and the French frontier, and especially since the treaties of 1850-51 had opened the Piedmontese market to French wines, it was losing the little benefit it had had from the absence of

¹ Cavour, *op. cit.*, III. 208, 236, Cordova, *Discorsi*, I. 100; Mario, *op. cit.*, II. 2.

² Della Margherita, *Memorandum*, 184.

³ See above, Vol. I., p. 262.

customs-lines along the Alps. And the more the idea of nationality was abroad, the more the Savoyards were likely to gravitate either to France or the French-speaking cantons of Switzerland. Before 1848 there had been a strong French party both among the clericals and Liberals. Charles Albert's Statute had reconciled the latter to Piedmontese rule, but the clericals were in the majority, and Savoy became the headquarters of the ultramontane opposition. That separation must come some day, had long been accepted by thinking Italians. Mazzini and Durando had foreshadowed it, Manin would probably have welcomed it, and though the exigencies of office made Cavour repudiate it from time to time, he had believed in its necessity as early as 1847. Had the question been settled on its merits, hardly a serious voice would have defended the retention of the province, despite the common military tradition, despite its being the cradle of the royal house.

Nice stood on a different footing. It was Italian in language, Italian in the main in sentiment, strongly attached to the Liberal movement, commercially as much in touch with Italy as with France. An ancient treaty pledged the King not to part with it without consulting its inhabitants. Probably no definite arrangement had been agreed on at Plombières or in the January treaty respecting it. Rattazzi had drawn a sharp distinction between the two provinces, and though he was prepared to give up Savoy, thought it ignominy to surrender an Italian land. Cavour felt bitterly the cruel need; but, if the Emperor insisted on it, it was, he thought, the greater policy to barter the little province for safe possession of the glorious heritage in Central Italy. That it was likely to cost him his popularity, he knew full well, but he was prepared to lay that on the altar of his country's weal. He had sold himself for the Unity of Italy; friends, conscience, good fame,—all he had resigned himself to throw away, if they served to bring Italy to the fulfilment of her fates.

With Nice and Savoy as his gift, and "The Pope and the Congress" for his brief, Cavour hoped to come to easy terms with the Emperor. He would not truckle to him;

he was determined to have the Central Provinces at any cost; but they must be had, if possible, with Napoleon's good-will, for the risk of a single-handed struggle with Austria was so terrible, that to avoid the possibility of it, he was ready to make any sacrifice short of surrendering the national advance. Everything seemed to favour him. The English government had proposed an Anglo-French understanding to settle the Italian question. Palmerston and Russell would have gone so far as to make an alliance of the two countries in defence of Italian interests; but the Queen, as before, opposed a pro-Italian policy, and Mr. Gladstone was the only other member of the Cabinet who supported them.¹ Still Russell's "Four Points," which took the place of his bolder schemes (January 15), promised English recognition for annexation, so soon as the united assemblies of the Central States had again declared for it. The Emperor accepted the Four Points in principle but with reserves; and Cavour, overjoyed at the news, and trusting that Napoleon had specifically consented to annexation, believed that the difficulties had cleared themselves from his path.

But his policy had wound itself thread within thread of diplomacy and trickery, and any misadventure promised entanglement beyond repair. At the very moment of its completion the Anglo-French understanding snapped. Stronger than love of Italy, distrust of France was supreme in English foreign policy, and it had only been by dexterous concealment of his designs on Savoy, that the Emperor had brought about the recent negotiations. Suddenly the secret leaked out, and it was in vain that Thouvenel and Cavour attempted to conceal it by frank lying. England felt that she had been duped, and the indignation was strong and deep. The Emperor saw that Cavour might throw himself into the arms of England, win Central Italy under countenance of her support, and then defy him to take Savoy and Nice. But their possession was more than ever necessary to him. His pamphlet and

¹ Walpole, *op. cit.*, II. 315; Ashley, *Palmerston*, II. 177; Martin, *op. cit.*, V. 7; Greville Memoirs, VIII. 288-289.

the letter to the Pope had brought down a storm of angry and threatening remonstrance from the French Catholics. The Papal Encyclical of January 19, refusing all compromise on Romagna, had been the signal for an ultramontane movement in France, which had thoroughly frightened the government. There was little love among his people for the Emperor's dreams of nationality or a policy that made for a strong Italy. He needed some big success to hush the hostility, and he hardly ever faltered again in his resolve to have Savoy, if not Nice as well, at any price; provided he got these, perhaps he would let Piedmont go as far as she could in Italy.¹ While still playing with England, he began a game of bluff with Cavour. To frighten him from an understanding with England, perhaps too because he planned a half surrender to the clericals, he suddenly broke away from his qualified adhesion to the Four Points, and went back to his earlier schemes, which he had never entirely abandoned, of the Vicariat for Romagna and a separate kingdom for Tuscany, though he was willing to see a Savoy prince on the Tuscan throne. At first (February 13) he dangled the alternative of Tuscany or Savoy and Nice, Piedmont might choose between them; but soon, to make sure of his bargain, he raised his terms, and refused, whatever the fate of Tuscany, to waive his claims to the border provinces. Though at heart he probably intended not to abandon Italy, a "rose-water ultimatum" threatened, that unless Piedmont complied at once, he would withdraw his troops from Lombardy, and leave the country to take its chances of an Austrian attack (February 21).²

Cavour's policy was far from clear. He might throw himself on the English alliance, annex Tuscany and Romagna, and refuse to surrender Savoy or Nice. Or he might concede all the Emperor's demands, reflecting that the Pope's shadowy suzerainty in Romagna would go for nought, and

¹ Bonfadini, *Arese*, 228-229.

² Ricasoli, *op. cit.*, IV. 304-305, 352-353, 359-360, 366-369; Bonfadini, *op. cit.*, 227-247; *Affaires étrangères* 1860, 19, 37; Poggi, *op. cit.*, III. 277; Cavour, *op. cit.*, VI. 543. The last reference shows that Cavour heard of the Emperor's change as early as February 3, though probably he did not then attach much importance to it.

that with the little Duke of Genoa on the throne and Ricasoli as his Regent, Tuscany would be practically a part of the kingdom. But the one course was too perilous, the other too pusillanimous. To give up annexation was to wound the national sentiment, alienate the Tuscans, and give a chance for the autonomists to raise their heads again. On the other hand he dared not alienate the Emperor. He had resigned himself to the sacrifice of Savoy, and, if necessary, of Nice. He was willing to humour Napoleon in all non-essentials; he carefully abstained from fanning the war spirit in England, and prepared for a new plebiscite by universal suffrage in Central Italy, knowing that the Emperor could ill refuse to recognize the same popular mandate, by which he had climbed to his own throne. He would even, if driven back on it, have accepted the Pope's suzerainty in Romagna.¹ But he flatly declined to consent to any surrender of Tuscany. He no doubt calculated that the Emperor would not in the last resort desert him. He could count on the moral support of England, and to some extent of Prussia. If worst came to worst, he would fight Austria single-handed, rather than haul down the nationalist colours. And, as Ricasoli told the French agent, Italy had not thrown off the Austrian oppression to take a French oppression in its stead. "If France betrays the principles of nationality," Cavour said a few weeks later, "we will have coalition against coalition," and he was planning a revolution in Hungary, which would take the Austrians in the rear.² He urged Fanti to push on the armaments with speed and secrecy, and estimated that the kingdom would soon have 200,000 men under arms. "We shall go to Vienna," he boasted in his more expansive moods. In the meantime he hurried on the plebiscites. On March 1 a royal decree ordered that they should be taken at once in both the Central States; should they prove favourable to annexation, the election of deputies to the Italian parliament would follow immediately.

¹ See below, p. 131.

² Cavour, *op. cit.*, III. 210, 212; VI. 544, 551; Ricasoli, *op. cit.*, IV. 313, 391, 407; Chiala, *op. cit.*, 93; Bianchi, *Diplomazia*, VIII. 257; *Id.*, *Politique de Cavour*, 357. The despatches of February 29 to Farini were evidently not

The French confessed that they had been outwitted, and the Emperor saw that it was useless now to veto annexation. His later objections had been mainly pawns in the game to win Savoy and Nice, and his anxiety was lest he should lose these. He had promised Russell to consult the Great Powers before taking the provinces, and he suspected an agreement between Italy and England to defeat his plans. He had pledged himself that a plebiscite should be taken both in Savoy and Nice and that he would abide by the result, and he feared that the Turin government would procure, as it easily might, an anti-separatist vote. Cavour no doubt was still hoping to save Nice and the eastern border of Savoy, and he had promised not to abandon the provinces, if their vote went in favour of Piedmont. The Emperor determined to clench the matter at once. Throwing to the winds his promises to England, he peremptorily demanded that before the plebiscites were taken in Central Italy, Piedmont should bind itself by secret treaty to cede Savoy and Nice. Cavour did not dare to decline; he knew all the odium he was drawing on his head, that the secret treaty was "highly unconstitutional," that though he might cloak the cession of Savoy under a plea of nationality, Nice was an Italian province, loyal to the throne and the cause of Italy. But till Italy was better able to fight Austria alone, interest as well as gratitude told him to help Napoleon in his struggle to keep his throne, perhaps he felt that the cession would quit Italy of her obligations to France, making her morally independent, and easing the road to Southern Italy. The secret treaty was signed on March 12. But the higgling was not yet finished, Cavour, encouraged by a vigorous anti-separatist movement in Nice, made one more effort to save it. But the Emperor was determined not to loose his prey. He demanded a public treaty, that could be used to appease the growing discontent in France, and sent his agent, Benedetti, to Turin to conclude it. Cavour, it is said, refused to sign, till Benedetti threatened to occupy Bologna and Florence with the French troops, which were still in Lombardy. It was the cruellest moment of Cavour's public life. To have the news of his defeat launched on the eve of the elections

was of evil augury for his influence in the new kingdom, which his genius had created. He still hoped that the chapter of accidents, perhaps a new war in the East, would allow Italy to win back Nice. But it was with a heavy heart that he signed the treaty on March 24.

Meanwhile the plebiscites had resulted in triumphant success (March 11-12). The government had circulated annexationist appeals broadcast, and no doubt a certain pressure was exercised by proprietors and employers. But the unsupported charges of intimidation, that were brought on both sides, may be left to balance one another; there was far too much enthusiasm to allow of its successful use. The decree for the plebiscites had given the vote to all males of age; the ballot papers gave the choice of voting for annexation or "a separate kingdom." Twenty per cent. of the population voted, or about three out of four of those on the register. In Emilia the vote was almost unanimous for annexation, in Tuscany the autonomists mustered 15,000 votes out of 386,000. In less than a fortnight royal decrees proclaimed Emilia and Tuscany integral parts of the new kingdom.

The elections took place on the day after the signing of the treaty, and the first Italian parliament met on April 2. Piedmontese and Lombards, Tuscans and Romagnuols gathered at Turin to inaugurate the new kingdom, that their resoluteness and patience had brought into being. The little state of less than five million souls, though it had lost 700,000 across the Alps, had won tenfold as many, and now counted eleven millions, or nearly half the population of the peninsula. And though the shadow of abandoned Nice hung over the Chamber, pride and triumph in the greater gain shone through it. The elections had been a great victory for Cavour. The clericals for the most part abstained from the polls, and henceforth disappear as a political party. The democrats had been hardly more successful. Two or three score of deputies followed Rattazzi, but they had no settled policy saving the personal opposition to Cavour, which had been handed down from the Piedmontese Chamber, and on points of clear nationalist policy their votes could be counted on for the government. Cavour, apart from some great

revulsion of feeling, could rely on the steady following of two-thirds of the Chamber, and the only danger lay in the inexperience of the non-Piedmontese members and the lack of parliamentary discipline.

This lent a certain hazard to the debate on the treaty. The cession, as Cavour had foreseen, brought down a storm of wrath on his head. Shame at the abandonment of the hereditary provinces, indignation that their peoples had been bartered away to please Napoleon, dislike of the unconstitutional character of the whole business, its trickiness and dishonesty, mingled with all the bitter antagonism to Cavour, which had inspired the Free Committees. There seemed some risk that parliament might inaugurate the new kingdom by throwing over the one man who could guide it. It was known that Rattazzi would attack the government, and on April 10 Garibaldi forced on the discussion in parliament. He had known of the intended cession for the past three months, but had taken no notice of it, till in the workings of his incomprehensible mind his passion suddenly grew hot. The Chamber took his impatient intervention rather coolly, and passed what was practically a vote of confidence. The plebiscites in Savoy and Nice took place a few days after (April 15-22). They showed an almost unanimous vote for annexation to France, but it was notorious that the figures were no index to the wishes of the inhabitants. The government had without any semblance of decency exerted all its influence to secure the vote that it wished for.¹ The majority of the Savoyards indeed were probably more than half disposed to separation, or cared little which way their fate went, though the northern portion of the province would have preferred to be joined to Switzerland. At Nice the feeling was strong against separation, and the people made pathetic efforts to escape the destiny imposed on them. But the mass of Italians felt that it was wasted time to kick against the pricks, and when the treaties were finally debated in the Chamber, Garibaldi was fighting in Sicily, and the question of Southern Italy had thrown all else into the shade.

¹ Further Correspondence, VI. 157-158, 206-207; D'Ideville, *Journal*, I.

CHAPTER XXX

THE UNITARIANS

JANUARY—MAY 1860

THE UNITARIANS; Mazzini; Bertani; Cavour; the King. Venetia. ITALY AND ROME; ecclesiastical reforms; the nationalist clergy; the Papal Volunteers; the Temporal Power; Umbria and the Marches; the Vicariat; the French garrison. NAPLES: Francis II.; the Piedmontese-Neapolitan alliance; plans of revolt in Sicily; the Della Gancia rising; GARIBALDI AND SICILY; Cavour's policy to Naples; he decides to help the revolt; Garibaldi's indecision; he decides to go to Sicily; Cavour's attitude.

IN fact, beside the onward march of Italy, every other question sank into insignificance. The federalists, Montanelli, Cattaneo, and their friends, were reduced to a negligible academic clique. All sections of nationalists recognized that the work was only half completed, that the annexation of Central Italy was only a stepping-stone, that till South Italy and Venice and the remainder of the Papal States were added to the kingdom, there could be no pause or but a brief one. They only differed as to when and how the next step should be taken.

Mazzini was still loyal, though much against the grain, to his acceptance of the monarchy; but he had persuaded himself that no initiative would come from Cavour, and he was picking up the work, which had been interrupted, when Garibaldi was recalled from Romagna. His plan was the same as then, to prepare simultaneous risings in Sicily and Umbria, and converge the insurrectionary forces on Naples. When once the revolution had begun, he counted on public opinion to force the Piedmontese government to come to its support. Crispi, one of the few who still worked with him, had again been weaving projects of insurrection in

Sicily (December), had won Farini to his schemes, and, it would seem, nearly persuaded Rattazzi to lend him the countenance of the government.¹ Both Mazzini and Crispi wished to secure Garibaldi's lead, but they would have dispensed with it, if it were not readily given. The more balanced members of the extreme party, such as Medici and Bertani, feared that the rising, wherever it broke out, might share the fate of Mazzini's earlier ill-starred projects. They made it an essential that Garibaldi should lead the insurrection, and that the moral support of the government should be secured. They were eager to procure a reconciliation between Cavour and Garibaldi, which would secure the wise guiding of the former, and prevent Garibaldi's energies from running to waste.

Cavour in fact was bent on unity more even than they knew. After Villafranca he had said, "They have stopped me from making Italy by diplomacy from the North, I will make it with the revolution from the South." And though he was now sometimes inclined to think that the South must wait, that perhaps the attack on Venice must come first, his whole soul was bent on sooner or later realizing the whole programme of unity. The other Liberal chiefs shared his resolution. "Union has become our beacon," wrote Robert D'Azeglio; Ricasoli was fretting to see Rome and Venice free, and his eagerness to settle the annexation of Central Italy was largely prompted by his belief that the decisive war was imminent, the Unity of Italy, he said, with all its far-reaching consequences in religion and civilization was written in the decrees of God. The King was as impatient, he had almost certainly given Garibaldi hopes of backing in his Umbrian scheme, he had subscribed largely to the million rifles fund; the latent democrat was coming out in him, and he extolled the people at the expense of aristocracy and clergy. There was no difference between Cavour and Mazzini, between Ricasoli and Garibaldi and the King as to the need for going on. But should it be Venetia or Papal territory or the South that they should aim at first?

¹ Crispi, *Scritti*, 302-303; Mazzini, *Opere*, XI. xli-xlii; Mario, *Bertani*, I. 423; *Lettere ad A. Panizzi* 272 and above p. 112.

Venetia had been tempted to despond after Villafranca, and its inhabitants had fled by thousands across the frontier to enlist in the Italian army or fan the conspiracy from Modena and Milan. But as the national cause prospered in Central Italy, the betrayed province breathed again, and a network of secret societies spread through it. The systematic repression of the government and the extravagant taxation helped the conspiracy, and Cavour dinned its sufferings into the ears of Europe. From time to time he hoped that Napoleon would be driven into war on the Po and Rhine, and give the chance of an attack on the Quadrilateral; but more often he was loath to bring French troops into the land again, and looked to the time, when the forces of united Italy would win Venetia without the foreigner's help. For this the province must wait, till Sicily and Naples and Umbria had been gathered to the kingdom. For the moment the question of Venice, like that of Nice, went into the background behind the more urgent problems of Rome and the South.

The nationalist movement was necessarily anti-Papal. Sooner or later it meant the destruction of the Temporal Power. The attack had already begun with ecclesiastical reforms in all the freed provinces. It was necessary to bring them at least to the level of Piedmont, to repeal the recent reactionary legislation in Tuscany and Lombardy, to sweep away the whole apparatus of theocratic government in Romagna, perhaps to go further than Piedmont had yet done, by legalizing civil marriage and completing the dissolution of the monasteries. There was a wide feeling among the laity, and to a less extent among the clergy, that the church must be reformed, that the laity should have a share in its management, that the incomes of the clergy should be equalized. Everywhere the Jesuits had been expelled, and their property nationalized. In Lombardy the Concordat naturally disappeared, and liberty of worship was made legal. In Modena and Parma Farini had put the Siccardi laws into force. In Romagna Cipriani

had decreed liberty of worship, had taken the control of education and charities from the clergy, and made an inventory of church property. In Tuscany Ricasoli and Salvagnoli abolished the Concordat and restored the Leopoldine laws, their colleagues defeated their attempt to free the schools from clerical control, but, backed by the Turin government, they passed a law to redeem the tithes and throw them into a common fund to equalize clerical incomes. A large number of the lower clergy and a few of the higher accepted the national movement.¹ The bulk of the Lombard priests, who perhaps stood first in Italy for character and patriotism, had never liked the Austrian rule, had opposed the Concordat and the admission of the Jesuits, and now welcomed the rule of Piedmont. The Tuscan priests found themselves free from the heavy yoke, which the Concordat had allowed the bishops to lay on them. The poorer clergy everywhere hailed legislation, that promised to increase their miserable incomes, the secular priests looked not unkindly on a rule, that meant the expulsion of the Jesuits and the depression of the regular orders. There were many, who shared the bigger hopes of the nation, who had no sympathy with ultramontaniam, who felt in the words of a Sicilian priest that "the Pope was ruining himself and ruining them," and kept alive the fire of Christian patriotism, that Gioberti and Ventura and Bassi had kindled.

But Rome would listen to no words of peace. She could not forgive the loss of Romagna or the new laws against the church. A few Liberal priests, like Lacordaire, would have accepted the solution proposed in La Guéronnière's pamphlet, and been content, if Papal territory were restricted to the neighbourhood of Rome.² But with the bulk of the Papalists there could be neither less nor more in the Pope's rights, and to surrender their claims on Romagna meant giving up the case for the remaining provinces. Not even in exchange for a French guarantee for the Pope's

¹ Zobi, *Cronaca*, I. 788-794, Cantù, *Cronistoria*, III. 281; Poggi, *Memorie*, I. 56; Cavour, *Lettere*, VI. 548; *Cronaca politica*, II. 155, 831. See below, p. 204.

² Capponi, *Lettere*, III. 337.

remaining territory would Antonelli waive the title to Romagna. The Pope had long ago excommunicated all who took part in the revolt (June 20, 1859), he had condemned as blasphemous D'Azeglio's boast to the Bolognese, that God made man free in his religious and political opinions. Loquacious and indiscreet, he attacked La Guéronnière's pamphlet in bitter phrases, and in answer to the Emperor's letter refused to surrender what he claimed as belonging to all Catholics.

The Papalists reserved their hottest wrath for Piedmont. In their eyes Piedmont and the Revolution were identical. Piedmont's absorption of the territory of the church seemed an attack on all that was sacred in religion and legitimate government, the offspring of a vulgar conspiracy that had been hatching for the past twelve years, and to come to terms with her was "to recognize the right of the thief." In October the Piedmontese agent had been given his passports, and in March the Pope, declining all overtures for reconciliation, launched the Greater Excommunication¹ against all who had promoted or abetted the separation of Romagna. "God in his wrath," wrote the Pope, "will destroy the new Sennacheribs." Antonelli trusted more in the army. He could put small dependence indeed on the native troops, for he could only fill their ranks by recruiting from the scum of the population, but he appealed to Catholic Europe for men and money to defend the Papal throne from impious attacks, and though the Catholics stinted their offerings of money, from Austria and Switzerland, from Belgium and France and Ireland volunteers flocked in to fight in the church's cause against "the revolutionary Islamism, that threatened Europe." Their case was indefensible, for they came to protect abuses, that they would not have tolerated at home, to trample on a sorely oppressed people struggling to be free; but the travesty of Italian politics, that passed current in Catholic literature, blinded them to the ugly facts around them, and many of them felt only the pious impulse, that bade them defend religion and the Pope

¹ In July 1859 Antonelli told the English agent at Rome that the Greater Excommunication had not been put into force since the Middle Ages, and would not be used against Piedmont.

from enemies, whom fanaticism painted as worse than infidels. In character they were the counterpart of Garibaldi's volunteers, though less disciplined and perhaps less brave. Fine enthusiasm mingled with love of adventure and sometimes of disorder and rapine. It was a pinchbeck crusade; but side by side with the refuse of the Austrian army and Irish peasants, who were lured on false pretence of finding work and brawled in the streets of Rome,¹ were the brave pious youths, of culture and historic names, who left their quiet chateaux in Brittany and Belgium to fight and die in a cause all unworthy their devotion. By the end of March Antonelli had 15,000 volunteers, besides the 5000 regulars of the Papal army. With the French garrison to keep Rome quiet, and the Neapolitan army as his second line, he could concentrate his forces in Umbria and the Marches and hope to regain Romagna. He had planned this in the autumn, and it was only the imposing muster of the League's army that had saved Romagna from invasion. In the spring he felt strong enough not only to resist attack, but renew his designs on the lost province, probably believing that he had only the army of the League to deal with, and that Europe would prevent the Piedmontese from moving.² As commander of his forces he appointed the French general, La Moricière, whose chequered career had seen him a disciple of St. Simon, the conqueror of Abd-el-Kader, a victim of the *coup d'état*, and now found him transformed to a champion of the Papacy. La Moricière's appointment was probably mixed up with Orleanist intrigues against the Empire;³ but he himself was a single-minded enthusiast, easily discouraged perhaps, and puzzled how to reconcile his devotion to the Papacy with the daily evidence of misrule, but a brave loyal man, with something left of his old liberalism, and a hero nature that won love and allegiance.

But the nationalists were determined not to abandon Umbria and the Marches for all the hostility of the Catholic

¹ Lecomte, *L'Italie en 1860*, 131; Loftus, *Reminiscences*, II. 139; Liverani, *Il papato*, 216

² Bonfadini, *Arese*, 237-238; Thouvenel, *Le secret*, I. 135; Castelli, *Carteggio*, I. 289; Sullivan, *New Ireland*, II. 36.

³ Pantaleoni, *Idea italiana*, 36-38.

world. Compromise was impossible between the national and the Catholic ideal. In Italian eyes the sacrifice of two millions of their fellow-countrymen to the fancied interests of the church was foreign interference of the most intolerable kind. Perugia was not forgotten; the matter, bad enough in itself, had been exaggerated, and Cavour rejoiced that "the Pope appeared as butcher and not as victim." The excommunication roused all the latent spiritual revolt. The government unwisely struck back at the more hostile of the bishops; and Garibaldi's diatribes voiced the anger of the more iconoclastic section. Many of the Piedmontese threatened to stay away from mass; at Bologna the feeling against the priests was wide and bitter; at Florence the evangelicals made considerable headway;¹ "the agitation in men's minds was deep, and serious perils threatened the Catholic church, as in the days of Leo X." To devout Liberal Catholics, who saw the danger, the remedy lay in the destruction of the Temporal Power, and with it of the worldly policy of Rome. No sophistry could conceal the rottenness of the plea for the Pope's independence, while his throne was propped by French bayonets or leaned on Austria to support it against its own subjects. What value, they asked, has "the prestige of a sceptre, that has so often fallen from the weak hands that hold it, and been as often taken back an alms from the hands of Europe?" And all hope of making the theocracy tolerable had vanished. La Guéronnière's simulated apology confessed that it could not progress. The corruption, that Antonelli patronized, had discredited it more than all Gregory's obscurantism. The feeling was becoming universal that the Pope would not and could not reform; that he could not accept representative institutions or liberty of the press or lay schools or equality of laymen and clericals before the law. Antonelli had turned a deaf ear to the Emperor's appeals for better government; "if we are obliged to promise reforms, we shall pretend to give way,"² he told the Neapolitan minister, but he believed that the Emperor was not serious in his demands. And it was not a case that touched the Pope's own subjects

¹ See below, p. 200.

² Bianchi, *Diplomazia*, VIII. 381.

only. So long as Rome remained the focus, where the dispossessed princes centred their intrigues, so long as Antonelli tried to draw the clergy into a vast conspiracy against Italian liberty and independence, the Temporal Power was a standing menace to the new kingdom. Till the Papal volunteers were disbanded, and Rome became the capital of Italy, the danger of a civil war of fanaticism was always present. "You are calling down the storm that you may fish in troubled waters," was Gramont the French minister's grave rebuke to Antonelli.

For the present, however, while the French garrison remained, it was only hot heads, who had any hope of advancing to Rome. At this time probably not even Mazzini or Garibaldi contemplated any early possession of the capital. Nationalist aims only reached to Umbria and the Marches. Their momentary freedom in the summer had proved that the great majority of the Pope's subjects were impatient to throw off his rule. There was, indeed, a minority under the influence of the priests, and La Moricière is said to have collected 3000 volunteers from them; but the daily desertions from the Papal troops to join the nationalist volunteers across the frontier, the general abstinence from smoking and the lottery, the bold protests of the Perugians showed the feeling of the provinces. Even at Rome the carnival had been deserted by all except the rabble and the English, and a brutal attack of gendarmes on a holiday crowd (March 19) widened the gulf between government and people. The nationalists outside were impatient to free their compatriots. The opposition to Garibaldi's expedition in the autumn had been to its opportuneness not to its principle. Blind to the finer side of La Moricière's volunteers, even moderate men like Capponi and D'Azeglio bitterly resented the new kind of foreign interference, which this "mob of adventurers" had brought. "If we are attacked, we can defend ourselves and become the attackers," said Ricasoli, and he was in close touch with the Umbrian patriotic committees, urging them to prepare for the rising, when the government should give the signal. This he hoped would be as soon as parliament met, and

Cavour had concurred, till the Emperor's altered attitude on the Tuscan question convinced him of the danger, and made him delay for the present any irrevocable step.

He was trying again to win Umbria and the Marches with the Pope's consent. It seems hardly credible that, in the present temper of the Papal court, he can have seriously hoped for success. But he always underrated its obstinacy and unwisdom, and thought it would be compelled to take counsel of its desperate position. Possibly, however, it was a diplomatic move to put the Pope further in the wrong; it may have been a concession to the King's scruples or the Emperor's secret promptings, or a last resource in a moment of despondency after Napoleon's veto on annexation. On February 7 Victor Emmanuel wrote to the Pope, asking him to concede the Vicariat under Papal suzerainty not only of Romagna, but of the two other provinces, professing at the same time his devotion to the church, and his desire to reconcile it with his duties as King. But the appeal made no impression on Pius; his answer only threatened excommunication, and though the King wrote again after the plebiscites, offering "in the interests of peace" to recognize the Pope's suzerainty over Romagna, and making no mention of the other provinces, Antonelli refused absolutely to negotiate.¹

Nobody but Cavour had had any hope of success from the overtures; and before he received Antonelli's final answer, he too came to see that there lay more hope in the Emperor's anxiety to withdraw his troops. However much Napoleon might have to veil his feelings from fear of the French Catholics, he was more and more exasperated with the Pope. Pius had paltered with all his appeals for reform, had broken into unrestrained invective in his answer to the pamphlet, had allowed Rome to become a hotbed of legitimist intrigue; and the Emperor in retaliation took strong measures against the French Catholic press, and threatened to withdraw his troops, if his advice were not accepted. For years he had

¹ Bianchi, *op. cit.*, VIII. 397-403; Massari, *Vittorio Emanuele*, 320-321; Thouvenel, *op. cit.*, I. 23, 38, 73-74, 78; Cavour, *Lettere*, III. 202-203, 231; Ghiron. *Primo re* 154. Zini *Storia Documenti* II 615

been aiming at this, feeling more and more acutely the irreparable blunder of 1849. He had welcomed Antonelli's suggestion of withdrawal in the previous spring; he had kept evacuation in mind all through the summer and autumn,¹ and the increasing danger of collision with Italy, perhaps some thought of an Italian alliance against Austria and Prussia,² made him now more than ever anxious to carry it out. In April he proposed the substitution of Neapolitan troops for his own; and when Francis refused, knowing that it meant war with Piedmont,³ he suggested that a native force should be organised sufficient for defence, that the Catholic Powers should subsidise the Papacy, and that the French should then withdraw. Antonelli, who detested the French patronage, welcomed the proposal; Austria, Naples, Spain approved; and though the Pope and La Moricière wished to keep the French at Rome and leave the native regiments and volunteers free to operate against Romagna, Gramont at last (May 12) got a convention signed for the departure of the French troops on the first of July.⁴ But events had already happened, which made the convention nugatory.⁵ The day before it was signed Garibaldi landed at Marsala, and Zambianchi was preparing to cross the Papal frontier. The Roman question was forgotten for the moment in the drama that was unfolding in Sicily.

The tyranny in Naples and Sicily, the universal detestation of the Bourbons, the Sicilian tradition of revolt had for years past turned the thoughts of the nationalists to the revolutionizing of the South. Cavour and Mazzini alike had included it in their schemes,⁶ and Mazzini had given feeble execution to his ideas in Pisacane's expedition. Time had taught Ferdinand nothing, and the administrative chaos grew worse, as sickness paralyzed the King's brain. A

¹ Randon, *Mémoires*, II. 34; and above, pp. 109, 111.

² Greville Memoirs, VIII. 312.

³ See below, p. 136.

⁴ Bianchi, *op. cit.*, VIII. 281, 405-409; Thouvenel, *op. cit.*, I. 80, 94, 134-136, 145-154; Cavour, *op. cit.*, III. 233-235; *Affaires étrangères 1860*, III, 116.

⁵ Thouvenel, *op. cit.*, I. 154; *Affaires étrangères 1860*, 117; Further Correspondence 1860, VII. 8; Ricasoli, *Lettere*, V. 111.

⁶ See above, p. 37.

fearful and loathsome disease struck him, and he lived just long enough to hear the doom of his race in the declaration of war with Austria (May 22, 1859). The new King, Francis II., had been trained in blank ignorance of state affairs. Devoted to his father, honest and well-intentioned, but young, weak, absolutely inexperienced, he was bound to follow Ferdinand's policy in the main. Filangieri was made prime minister, and would have given a constitution, had he had a free hand; but the whole strength of church and army mustered to defeat him, and early in 1860 he resigned. The King was still feebly anxious to rule well; the English and French governments urged reform, and even Prussia and Russia, afraid that misrule would give wings to the revolution, counselled moderation. A few weak reforms were made; the imperfect amnesty of the beginning of his reign was extended to political prisoners; a concession was granted for the Naples-Brindisi railway; and a great advance was made towards free trade. But the abuses of the police remained intolerable as ever, and Russell solemnly warned Austria of the inevitable consequences of the contrast between Northern justice and Southern misgovernment.

To a certain extent Francis' accession had raised the hope of better things. A small section of the exiles hoped to save the Bourbons, as the Florentine nobles would have saved the Grand Duke, by forcing on the throne a liberal and nationalist policy. Comparatively few of them in the summer of 1859 thought that the union of North and South was within the range of practicable politics; and to keep Murat off the throne, they would gladly have met Francis half way. Cavour, anxious to put as many Italian troops as possible into the field, had even before Ferdinand's death, and still more after it, proposed an offensive and defensive alliance,¹ and forswore all projects against the Bourbons. France, it seems, went so far as to promise the Marches and Umbria as the price of his acceptance.² Filangieri would

¹ In 1757 the elder Pitt wanted Sardinia and the Two Sicilies to combine against Austrian predominance in Italy: *Chatham Correspondence*, I. 254.

² Nisco, *Francesco II.*, 17; Memor, *Fine di un regno*, 329-330. Nisco says that England joined in the offer, but this seems improbable, especially in view of De Cesare, *Scialoja*, 101, 107.

have readily consented; but, though Francis, as his father had advised, rejected Austria's overtures for alliance, Italian Independence was a thing that had no meaning for him, and the court party won him back from Filangieri's hold. In the autumn he was trying to form an anti-Piedmontese coalition, and but for Napoleon's veto, would have sent his troops to win back Romagna for the Pope.

The scheme of the exiles had in fact little following at Naples. There were few there who put any trust in the perjured race. Murattists and nationalists alike opposed a policy, which promised to strengthen the Bourbons and make Piedmont morally responsible for their safety. After Villafranca the South came anew into prominence. The Unitarians were angling for the floating nationalist sentiment, which, vague and undecided as it was, was bound to gravitate to them. Murattism was involved in the discredit of Villafranca, and only lingered on for want of a better policy. And the acceptance of the Piedmontese monarchy by all parties in the North, the attitude of Tuscany and Emilia, the influence of Garibaldi were rapidly bringing the Southern nationalists over in mass to the Unitarians. In Sicily Fabrizi and Quadrio had woven a widespread conspiracy, and after Villafranca La Farina urged the branches of the National Society in the island to revolt at once. At the same time Crispi, who was still a republican in principle and loath to accept the royalist programme, went there in disguise and organised the secret societies for a rising in October.¹ But the leaders had been impressed into the plot against their judgment; they believed that Sicily could not rise successfully without the help of Piedmont; La Farina had changed his tactics, and was urging his friends to wait, till Central Italy was annexed; and in spite of Garibaldi's promise of help, the insurrection dwindled down to a petty outbreak in the neighbourhood of Palermo.

But Crispi was not discouraged, and after his failure to win Rattazzi's support,² he prepared for a new attempt in the coming April. Some encouragement came from Cavour

¹ He had large stores of bombs made on Orsini's model.

² See above, p. 124.

and his friends,¹ but the plot was mainly the work of the democrats. Mazzini, who was in hiding at Genoa, threw himself into it and asked Garibaldi to lead the insurrection, but Garibaldi had small belief in the chances of a popular rising, and would promise nothing but a supply of arms from the Rifle Fund, and these only on condition that the movement was under the royal flag (February 24). At last he wrote (March 15), that if the Sicilians rose spontaneously in Victor Emmanuel's name, he would go to their help.² Mazzini, always half suspicious of Garibaldi, and perhaps not sorry to see the movement in other hands, had already selected as leader, in the event of Garibaldi's refusal, a young Sicilian noble, Rosalino Pilo. A few days after the receipt of Garibaldi's letter, Pilo started with one companion and a very little money to be the forlorn hope of Sicilian liberation. When he landed near Messina the revolution had already broken out. Arms had been collected during the winter in the patriotic monastery Della Gancia at Palermo, and at dawn on April 4 the convent bell gave the signal to the conspirators. But the plot had leaked out, and the government was on the watch. The troops stormed and sacked the monastery, and Palermo had to content itself with empty demonstrations. But the whole surrounding country had risen in response; Girgenti, Noto, Caltanissetta, Trapani enjoyed a momentary freedom. "My fellow conspirators are all Italy and God," said to his captors Riso, the master-mason, who had organised the rising. But though there was serious fighting at Carini, the insurgents could make no prolonged stand, and the German and Swiss mercenaries took their revenge with a fiendish brutality. Before Pilo joined the remnants of the bands, the rising, though not crushed, had lost any hope of success. Except indeed Mazzini and the Sicilian exile La Masa, both jealous of Garibaldi, few had any confidence in Pilo's mission. The saner heads recognized, that there was only one man who could make the rebellion successful. The majority of the

¹ La Masa, *Fatti*, ii; Farini, *Lettere*, xlviii; Oddo, *I mille*, I. 78; and above, p. 115.

² Mario, *Garibaldi*, 534; Mazzini, *Opere*, XI. lvi; see Crispi, *Scritti*, 322.

Genoese Committee, irritated by Mazzini's incapacity to understand anybody's policy but his own, resolved to go their own way and bind Garibaldi to his promise. When the first favourable news of the rising arrived, Garibaldi again reluctantly consented to go (April 7), and asked the King to put a brigade from the royal army under his orders. In common with most of his friends, he saw that nothing effective could be done without the help of Cavour's government.

Cavour's actions and statements at this crisis are so contradictory, that his real intentions must remain an unsolved problem, unless indeed, as is most probable, they varied from day to day. On his return to office, he did not contemplate any early rupture with Naples; he instructed Villamarina, his minister at the Bourbon court, to promise that Piedmont would abet neither revolution nor annexation in the South; and though he was encouraging the Unitarians in Sicily, it is probable that at present he had little hope of successful revolution there, still less at Naples. But towards the end of March his policy began to change. Annexation was virtually assured in the Centre, and the cession of Savoy and Nice would make him more independent of France. He had heard of the proposed occupation of the Marches by Neapolitan troops (March 22), and expecting that it was the prelude to an invasion of Romagna, he had determined to regard it as a hostile act, unless Francis would recognize the annexation of Romagna and allow Piedmont to occupy Ancona.¹ At a later date he said that immediately after the annexation of the Centre he made up his mind to dethrone the Bourbons. Whether or not his plans had gone so far, he sounded Villamarina (March 30) as to the chances of annexation at Naples, though expressing a hope that the *status quo* might continue for the present. A few days later (April 4) La Masa told him of the plot that was maturing at the Della Gancia convent. The main lines of Cavour's policy were the same as they had been for the past four years, to prevent any movement which might divide the nationalists, and keep each development attached to

¹ Bianchi, *op. cit.*, VIII. 281; Cavour, *op. cit.*, III. 253; Carandini, *Fanti*, 320. *Affaires étrangères* 1860, 98-99 is incredible.

strings that the government could pull. Doubtless he saw that it was impossible to stop revolution in Sicily, as it had been stopped in Umbria in the autumn. It would at all events effectually prevent a Neapolitan invasion of Romagna. Therefore he must connive at it and guide it, but the government must have no responsibility, must do nothing to risk the ground that had been won, or hazard the great march onward. If the free lances would take the risk, and in case of failure pay the cost, the main movement could not lose, and it might greatly gain. He promised help vaguely, and saw how great the risk was, if an undisciplined revolt were led by incompetent chiefs. His first effort to find a leader failed, and a few days later Garibaldi's appeal to the King must have been known to him. Forgetting Garibaldi's bitter attack on him at this very moment, he saw that he was the one man who could bring victory out of so much danger. It was impossible to give him the brigade, but he told La Farina to let him have the help that had at first been destined for La Masa, and supply him with muskets from the National Society's magazines; and he gave permission that the rifles at Milan belonging to Garibaldi's fund, which the government had practically taken charge of, should be used for the expedition.¹

Garibaldi meanwhile, after his unfortunate appearance in the Chamber, had returned to Quarto on the coast near Genoa. In spite of his promises he was still very irresolute. He was more inclined to go to Nice and head a desperate resistance to the French; and his reluctance grew with the unsatisfactory news from Sicily and the difficulties that crowded on the preparations for the expedition. He had had the King's answer refusing the brigade; D'Azeglio, revolted by Cavour's double play, laid an embargo on the rifles at Milan; Cavour, Medici, La Farina, all now threw their weight against the expedition.² Garibaldi had no wish

¹ La Farina, *Epistolario*, II. 313; Guerzoni, *Garibaldi*, II. 31; Vecchi, *Garibaldi*, 116-117; Cavour, *op. cit.*, III. 242; IV. cxxviii; Oddo, *op. cit.*, I 168. Pianciani, *Dell' andamento*, 40 is quite wrong.

² D'Azeglio, *L'Italie*, 162; Cavour, *op. cit.*, IV. cxxviii; Un antico parlamentare, *Crispi*, 161; Mario, *Bertani*, II. 39-40; Guerzoni, *op. cit.*, II. 31, 38; Persano, *Diario*, I. 81; Mazzini, *Opere*, XI. lxxix.

to imitate the fate of the Bandieras and Pisacane, and La Farina left Genoa on April 20, convinced that he had given up all intention of going.

The news came probably as a relief to Cavour. He was distracted by a royal visit to Florence: he dreaded a fiasco, which the bad news from Sicily made appear only too probable, or the recurrence of some more serious complication of the *Cagliari* type; he had doubts whether Garibaldi would be proof against Mazzinian influence; still more he feared the attitude of France, and the indefinite occupation of Rome, if the expedition once started. On the other hand, he had received Villamarina's report that the rebellion promised to succeed in Sicily; he knew that Austria would not intervene; La Farina had reassured him as to Garibaldi's loyalty to the crown. He was anxious to provide for either contingency, and when the Genoese Committee sounded his intentions on April 23, he seems still to have held out promises of help.¹

While he was hesitating, Garibaldi was yet more torn by indecision, persuaded and dissuaded by each new influence, but on the whole leaning more to going. He was longing for action, in which he could forget political and domestic disappointments; unhopeful as he was of the chances of the expedition, he "thought it his duty to go, where Italians were fighting their oppressors." But he was puzzled as to Cavour's attitude, and saw how grave was the position, if the Emperor frightened the government into inaction or opposition. Three times within a week he changed his mind, and it was only the knowledge that others would go without him, combined with Crispi's insistence and a false telegram bringing better news from Sicily, that finally decided him.² On May 1 he announced his intention to start

¹ Cavour, *op. cit.*, VI. 559; Bianchi, *op. cit.*, VIII. 290; Sirtori's speech in the Chamber on June 19, 1863. For another account of Cavour's words see Bertani, *Ire politiche*, 61. It is certainly strange that (if Mario, *Bertani*, is correct) Sirtori opposed the expedition on April 30; see however Vecchi, *op. cit.*, 120.

² (a) Mazzini, *Opere*, XI. lxxvi-lxxvii; Mario, *op. cit.*, II. 40-42; Mazzini, *Ad A. Gianelli*, 130; (b) Mirone, *Fabrizi*, 54; Guerzoni, *Bixio*, 154; Mazzini, *op. cit.*, 131; Cavour, *op. cit.*, IV. cli; (c) La Masa, *Fatti*, v, vii; Vecchi, *op. cit.*, 119-120; Turr, *Risposta*, 6; according to the two latter, and Elia, *Note*, 51, the telegram was forged by Crispi.

as soon as possible. Meanwhile Cavour's doubts were settling in the opposite direction. In view of the bad reports from Sicily the expedition seemed mere madness. The foreign governments were raining questions as to the meaning of the preparations at Genoa, and he had told the French minister that the enterprise had been abandoned. Now the news came that Garibaldi was leaning towards going. The disappointment upset his judgment. Hurrying to meet the King at Bologna, he proposed (May 1) that Garibaldi should be arrested. The King, who had been giving Garibaldi direct encouragement,¹ and had spoken at Florence of "new tasks and new wars," refused;² and Cavour, perhaps realizing that in the excited state of public opinion his proposal was an impossible one, saw that nothing remained to be done, except to give the expedition every chance of success. La Farina was sent to Genoa to deliver up the National Society's muskets, though through some strange under-handed manœuvre, explicable only by La Farina's petty suspicions and jealousies, Garibaldi received only a portion of them. Instructions were sent to the authorities at Genoa to connive at the loading and departure of the steamers. Indeed without the help of the government it would have been impossible for the expedition to start.³ Persano, the Piedmontese admiral, was ordered to arrest the expedition, if it put in at a Sardinian port; but he knew that Cavour only wished to save appearances, and he was careful to let Garibaldi's steamers pass on unmolested.⁴

¹ Cavour, *op. cit.*, IV. clvii, clxiii; see however Mario, *op. cit.*, II. 48. I cannot reconcile and hardly believe D'Ideville, *Journal*, I. 55.

² D'Haussonville, *Cavour*, 420; Castelli, *Cavour*, 88.

³ Oddo, *op. cit.*, I. 169, 173; Guerzoni, *Garibaldi*, II. 31, 38; Mazzini, *Opere*, XI. lxxx; Vecchi, *op. cit.*, 123-124; La Farina, *op. cit.*, II. 313, 427; Mario, *Garibaldi*, 542; Bianchi, *Cavour*, 94; Cavour, *op. cit.*, IV. clxii-clxiii; *Riv. stor. del risorg.*, I. 188-190. The statements to the contrary by Bertani, *op. cit.*, 53, and Pianciani, *op. cit.*, are certainly untrue.

⁴ Cavour, *Lettre*, III. 245-246; Persano, *Diario*, I. 14-16; see *Affaires étrangères 1860*, 141, for the official version. See also Chiala, *Dina*, I. 379. Some doubt attaches to the letter in Bianchi, *Cavour*, 94, as Persano does not mention it; there is nothing improbable in it, but Persano did not act on any such instructions.

CHAPTER XXXI

GARIBALDI IN SICILY

MAY—AUGUST 1860

THE "EXPEDITION OF THE THOUSAND"; Zambianchi's raid; Marsala; Calatafimi; Palermo. The Sicilians; Crispi's government; Cavour and Sicily; question of annexation; La Farina's mission, and banishment; Cavour and Garibaldi in July. The reinforcements; Milazzo. CAVOUR AND NAPLES; he wishes to anticipate Garibaldi; Francis grants a constitution; Cavour's intrigues at Naples; the nationalists fail to rise there; rising in the provinces. CAVOUR DECIDES TO OCCUPY UMBRIA; the Bertani-Nicotera expedition; Cavour gets the Emperor's sanction.

AT dawn on May 5 the little expedition left Genoa in two of Rubattino's steamers. There was no lack of men to fill them. Bertani's Committee and the prestige of Garibaldi's name had drawn volunteers from all Italy, and the only difficulty was to keep down the numbers to the odd thousand that Garibaldi could take. They were mainly North Italians, for of the 1072 that started in their red-shirt uniforms, 850 came from Lombardy, Emilia, and Venetia. They were a strangely mixed band of patriots and adventurers, with little in common save their devotion to Garibaldi and a boundless courage.¹ "There came," in the words of one of them, "the Sicilian in search of his country, the rejected lover looking for forgetfulness, the hungry looking for bread, the wretched for death;" most of them, though, the pick of the *Cacciatori*, some of them veterans who had served in the Crimea. It was a splendid hazard and great was its reward; and the glory of its initiative must go to the Committee at Genoa—to Bertani and Crispi and Mazzini, whose blind faith had

¹ Forbes says that he never saw or heard of a volunteer, who was the worse for drink.

overborne Garibaldi's hesitation, and dragged the King and Cavour in their wake. But at the moment it seemed a venture of heroic folly. The Bourbons had 23,000 troops in Sicily, and 100,000 more on the mainland, with a powerful artillery and well-nigh impregnable fortresses. The prospects of effective support from the population were very doubtful. Reinforcements might be sent, but this depended on the favour of the government, and it was all too probable that Garibaldi would be crushed before they could arrive. The sequel will show how, despite the extraordinary collapse of the Bourbon defence, the risk was again and again a very terrible one. There was probably no man in Europe except Garibaldi, who could have fought through beginnings so unpromising to victory; and even against him the odds came often all but too heavy. The "Expedition of the Thousand" made Italy; but it might easily have ended in disaster, that would have thrown back the national cause for years to come.

With all Italy hanging in suspense on their fate, the two vessels were coasting southwards. A strange piece of treachery, whose authorship can only be surmised, prevented them from taking up the ammunition for La Farina's muskets, and thus the expedition was almost unarmed. Partly to supply the deficiency, Garibaldi made land at Talamone, a small Tuscan port, and obtained from the compliant commandant of Orbetello the ammunition he required and three cannon. He had another object in stopping here. Mazzini and his friends had persuaded him to embrace their schemes for a simultaneous expedition to the Papal States; and though he had occasional misgivings, he had thrown himself heartily into the project, and had made it part of his schemes for some time past.¹ He intended it as a feint to mislead the enemy as to his destination; but with strange lack of wisdom he landed only some sixty men under a discredited officer, Zambianchi. No doubt he expected reinforcements to join from Tuscany, and intended that Cosenz

¹ Garibaldi, *Memorie*, 374; Mazzini, *Opere*, XI. cxi; Mario, *Bertani*, II. 33; Mazzini, *Ad A. Gianelli*, 130. I do not think probable the explanation given in Vecchi, *Garibaldi*, 134.

or Medici should soon follow from Genoa with a larger force. But it was an incomprehensible blunder. Zambianchi's tiny band courted disaster; and though Garibaldi was doubtless ignorant of the negotiations for the French evacuation, he must have realized something of the trouble he was creating for the government. Mazzini's foolhardy obstinacy and Garibaldi's light compliance postponed the departure of the French garrison, and made Italy wait ten more years for Rome. As soon as the news reached Cavour, he sent strong orders to Ricasoli to prevent the violation of Roman territory;¹ but the sympathies of the people were with the expedition, and Zambianchi crossed the frontier (May 20), to be attacked near Acquapendente by the Papal gendarmes, while he and his men were half intoxicated, and driven back into Tuscany, where Ricasoli disarmed and arrested them.

Meanwhile Garibaldi, steaming to the south, arrived at Marsala on May 11. He had eluded the Neapolitan ships on the open sea, but when nearing land two cruisers sighted him, and pursued him closely into harbour. One of his vessels grounded, and had not the Neapolitan firing been wide and wild, half his men would never have set foot ashore.² There was no garrison at Marsala, but the expedition was in danger of being hemmed in at the corner of the island, and Garibaldi decided to make a prompt advance on Palermo. Hailed with delirious enthusiasm by the inhabitants, and proclaiming himself dictator of the island in the name of Victor Emmanuel, he pushed on along the road to Palermo, while La Masa spread the revolution through the rural districts, and the *squadre* that had survived the Della Gancia insurrection came in by detachments.

Half-way to Palermo he met the Neapolitans in strong position on the hills of Calatafimi (May 15).³ He had only

¹ I do not believe Guérzoni's statement (*Garibaldi*, II. 54) that the authorities connived.

² There was no truth in the Neapolitan assertion that their firing was prevented by the English men-of-war stationed there. See Correspondence--Garibaldi; Guérzoni, *op. cit.*, II. 62.

³ The spot was called Pianto de' Romani, in memory of the defeat inflicted by the Egéstans on Appius Claudius in 263 B.C.

800 of his own badly-armed men and 1500 undisciplined *squadre* to meet Landi's 3500 well-armed and disciplined troops. But one after another, the seven terraces of the hill-slope were stormed, and bravely as the Neapolitans fought, they could not stand before the desperate bayonet rush. On May 19 Garibaldi was on the hills above Palermo. His first move had succeeded, but the real difficulties of the campaign had yet to come. His position was full of hazard. He had only his own 800 to depend upon, for though Termini and Misilmeri had risen, and by the 21st the whole centre of the island was free and had sent in 5000 men, the indiscipline and liability to panics of the improvised bands made them of small value except as scouts. In front of him at Palermo were 20,000 Neapolitans, their officers uneducated, cowards, promoted through court favour or the influence of the camorra, but the men, ignorant and brutal as they were, fairly brave and ready to fight well under good leadership. Despite Calatafini, despite the superstitious terror that believed Garibaldi leagued with supernal or infernal powers, the superiority of the royal troops in numbers, in arms, in discipline was so immense, that under tolerable generalship they would easily have crushed the little band of heroes.

Garibaldi knew well the immense odds against him; he knew that his one chance lay in the audacious, brilliant strategy, that had so often confounded a superior force. He was afraid to attack Palermo from the west, and by two wonderful and hazardous marches he took his men by a long arc through the mountains to Misilmeri south-east of the city (May 21-25), while two strong columns of the enemy went off in hot pursuit on a false scent to the south. His plan was to attack Palermo by night; once in the city, he would have the houses for fortifications and the populace behind him. His hopes of a surprise were spoilt by the panics of the *squadre*, and it was not till after dawn on the 27th, that he was able to attack and capture the Termini gate. The odds were still overwhelmingly in favour of the Neapolitans, and the least energy on the part of Lanza the commandant must have crushed the assailants. But he contented himself with a furious bombardment, which

wrought terrible havoc in the city, but did little to check the attack. The church bells clashed back defiance; the people began to stir, and inch by inch the city was won, till the soldiers were confined to the Castellammare fortress and its vicinity and an isolated group of buildings round the royal palace. It was a fearful scene of destruction; "every barricade," says an eye-witness, "rose under a tempest of shells, every foot of ground was won amid the crackling of the flames, the crash of falling houses, the shrieks of victims buried beneath the ruins or murdered by the savage soldiery in their flight."

The bombardment ceased on the morning of the 29th to allow the garrison to make a sortie; but the attack broke ineffectually against the barricades, and Lanza's fast-waning courage failed him. Garibaldi's unconventional tactics paralyzed him; he was doubtful of the loyalty of the fleet; his soldiers, more hungry for plunder than fighting, were beginning to desert. He was only anxious now to come to terms with the "filibusters." On the fourth day of the fighting he appealed to Mundy, who commanded the British squadron in the bay, to mediate, and Garibaldi, welcoming the offer to suspend hostilities, agreed to a twenty-four hours' truce. The Neapolitans little knew how desperate his position was. His powder was almost exhausted, the *squadre* were again more or less demoralized, twenty acres of the city were a smouldering heap of ruins, and the situation was so perilous, that even he was thinking of evacuating Palermo and retreating to the mountains. Next morning the truce was prolonged to enable Lanza to communicate with Naples. Francis' ministers knew that Palermo could be recovered only by a yet more terrible bombardment; they dared not incur the odium, and the King, recognizing that his only hope was to conciliate England and France, sent back orders to evacuate. By June 20 the last Neapolitan troops had sailed, and before this the revolution had spread through all the island. Except Messina and Syracuse, which were held down by the fear of bombardment, and the fortresses of Milazzo and Agosta, all Sicily was free from the hated rule. In less than a

month 1000 men had conquered 24,000, and won an island of two million inhabitants. Their own splendid fighting, the cowardice and incapacity of the Neapolitan generals, the unanimity of the population had accomplished the seemingly impossible task. But again and again victory had trembled in the balance, and had Lanza been aught but a poltroon, or Sicilian patriotism less universal, the heroic attempt must have ended in almost certain disaster.

The tyranny had succumbed through its own inherent vices, and it was a more arduous task to organise another government in its stead. The Sicilians had indeed welcomed the revolution with heart and soul; every islander had learnt from his cradle to hate the Bourbons, and the rejoicing was common to every class and section. Even the clergy made common cause, and priest and friar went through the island preaching the holy war. Garibaldi's own benignant personality made him in Sicilian eyes a half-divine hero, and the people cheered for him and the *Madonna Santissima* in one breath and believed him descended from the holy virgin Rosalia.¹ But there was no disposition to make sacrifices. Their own island was free, and what cared they beyond for the deliverance of the abhorred Neapolitans, or theories of Italian Unity? They organised their own local government with some energy, but few came forward to help in the tremendous problem of central organization. The well-to-do, selfish and suspicious of the men who surrounded Garibaldi, held aloof. The conscription, which the dictator had decreed, broke down before the passive resistance of the people, and only a few thousand volunteers were collected. The *squadre* were clamorous for pay, and had to be broken up and re-organized. Outside Palermo indeed there was no anarchy, such as Garibaldi's enemies depicted. Save for agrarian disturbances at Bronte, sternly suppressed by Bixio, and an occasional breaking out of old feuds or resistance to the tax-collectors, the country was quiet. But the central government was almost powerless everywhere, and in

¹ A whole convent of nuns at Palermo insisted on kissing him : Mario, *The Red Shirt*, 9; incense was burnt in his honour : Adamoli, *Da San Martino*, 99.

Palermo itself there were dangerous materials. The *mafia* had probably helped to organise the *squadre*. Prisons had been opened during the fighting, and the criminals were at loose in the streets, threatening their private enemies. Thirty *sbirri* had been detected and massacred, despite Garibaldi's efforts to save them, and more innocent victims went in terror of their lives. It was only the dictator's all-commanding prestige, that saved Sicily from the usual criminal sequel of its revolutions.

In fact the task of government, which seemed on paper so easy to the democrats, proved altogether beyond their powers. Garibaldi's political ideas were always primitive. Crispi, who was the real chief of the government, had not yet learnt from his political studies how to manage men. He was a man little loved; self-confident, strong-willed, energetic, without tact or wish to compromise, restive under any leadership. "I am Crispi," was said to have been his reply, when asked two years later to what political party he belonged. A bitter enemy, unscrupulous in his ambitions, inconsistent not with Cavour's robust indifference to appearances but from real carelessness for principle, with little regard for political morality either in ends or means, he was a man who might accomplish much, but that much was as likely to be evil as good. Under him the whole attempt at government by amateurs broke down. Garibaldi, with the best and humanest of intentions, but bored and worried by administrative details, tried to found schools¹ and reform foundling hospitals, while the very elements of government were falling into atoms. All the veneration and love, that the people felt towards him, did not make them pay their taxes. Nominally dictator, he was the tool of the men he trusted, and merely signed the decrees which Crispi laid before him. And Crispi, headstrong and autocratic, made the difficulties greater by his own impetuous folly. He set himself to pick to pieces the whole existing machinery of administration, and flooded the country with new laws, that only added to the confusion. The summary suppression of

¹ See the delightful picture of his military school for the Palermo *gamins* in Mario, *op. cit.*

the grist-tax and other unpopular burdens, while it did nothing to stir the people to effort, impoverished the treasury. He nominated turncoats and adventurers to office, and jobbery thrived as in a hotbed. There were hardly any law-courts, for the magistrates had been dismissed. There was no police, no national guard, and the only security for person and property lay in the self-restraint of the people. And though their unanimity and enthusiasm, however passive, kept the country quiet, and saved the government from many embarrassments, it was a black outlook for the future with the old order broken up, and a mob of intriguers and place-hunters in office. Crispi's misrule was the first of the series of blunders, which marred the early years of Italian rule in the South.¹

Reports of the misrule caused grave disquietude to Cavour. He had rejoiced at the news of Garibaldi's landing. Now that the die was cast, his perplexities disappeared; "Garibaldi's expedition may be right or wrong, but at all events it is inevitable," he said; "we cannot hesitate, we must help him." Inopportune as he probably still thought the move was, it was "another great stepping-stone to final unity." The diplomatic storm had burst, and had been less severe than he anticipated. Russia indeed had told him menacingly, that only geographical distance prevented her from interfering; but England was stoutly friendly, and France accepted the plea, that the government could not have stopped Garibaldi without grave peril to itself. He decided therefore, after a moment's hesitation, to allow private help to be freely sent. He went further; Persano was left with instructions so open, that even before the surrender of Palermo he felt at liberty to sail there (June 4), and give every kind of indirect assistance. On the premier's specific orders he made an unsuccessful attempt to win over the Neapolitan fleet. A few days later (June 10) Cavour was hoping that Garibaldi would cross into Calabria; towards the end of June he allowed the Garibaldian reinforcements

¹ Guerzoni, *op. cit.*, II. 121-124, 131; La Farina, *Epistolario*, II. *passim*, Ricasoli, *Lettere*, V. *passim*; D'Ancona, *Amari*, II. 110, 117-118; Forbes, *Garibaldi*, 78-81; Mundy, *H.M.S. Hannibal*, 81; Olivieri, *Una pagina*.

to arm themselves from the government's stores at Genoa, and Persano, who now saluted Garibaldi with viceregal honours, was instructed to escort them to Sicily. "If once the Italian flag flies at Taranto," the premier wrote to Ricasoli (June 27), "it means the end of the Temporal Power and the liberation of Venice."¹

It was not an honourable policy to encourage revolution against a government, with which he was at peace; and the depth of its dishonour has yet to be seen. It is an open question, whether, morality aside, it would not have been better strategy to attack Naples at once and complete the work. But Cavour would not break from his established rule to let the free lances take the risk. He was ready to use and sacrifice Garibaldi, as he would have used and sacrificed himself, for the common cause. He would have no irruption into the Papal States, and he persuaded Medici and Cosenz, despite Garibaldi's orders, to surrender any designs on Umbria and take their reinforcements to Sicily. He was still more preoccupied by the fear that ultra-democracy, possibly the republic, might gain a footing in the island. Of a republic, at present at all events, there was no danger; but the sequel proved how real was the risk of a democratic, anti-Piedmontese development, which would split the nationalists, which might in the future lead to civil war, and be driven in spite of itself to republicanism. Cavour was determined to check it, if he could, at the start; and to fortify Garibaldi against the democratic influence, to "organise and regulate government," to push on annexation, he sent La Farina to Palermo.

That immediate annexation to Piedmont was the wise policy for Sicily can hardly be questioned; it would have secured an experienced and orderly administration, it would have cut away the ground for intrigue and faction, and checkmated the party, which was sowing dissension and civil strife. In the cool judgment of after years no excuse is possible for the men, who, led by Crispi² at Palermo and

¹ Persano, *Diario*, I. 21-22, 39, 42; Cavour, *Lettere*, III. 266, 272, 274; VI. 565; Bianchi, *Cavour*, 98; Pianciani, *Dell' andamento*, 84; Mundy, *op. cit.*, 180; Adamoli, *op. cit.*, 80; see however Bianchi, *op. cit.*, 94.

² I cannot credit D'Ancona, *op. cit.*, II. 113.

Bertani at Genoa, were trying to postpone annexation indefinitely. Their plea of saving the sovereignty of the people was futile in face of the almost universal eagerness of the Sicilians to be annexed.¹ Their real object was to leave a thorn in the side of the government, to build up in South Italy a power which would be fatal, if not to the monarchy, at all events to the party which had hitherto guided the national movement. That their opposition had some ground may be conceded; many besides themselves were weary of the French alliance, were revolted by the devious paths of Cavour's diplomacy, and longed for a franker and nobler policy. But theirs was the antagonism of men, who were wantonly endangering the whole movement, because it had not gone on their own lines, or because it had brought personal disappointment and resentment. Garibaldi, no doubt, was free from base motives; he thought that Italy needed "an honest temporary dictatorship"; he only intended to defer annexation, till he had accomplished his work. If Victor Emmanuel took over the government of Sicily at once, diplomacy, he thought, might step in and prevent him from crossing to the mainland and completing the unity of Italy.

His fears probably originated in the suggestions of Crispi and his party. They had no foundation in fact. Cavour was prepared to annex not only Sicily but Naples as soon as the opportunity arrived. But La Farina was the worst possible agent that he could have selected to push his cause. He was honest and capable, but boastful, tactless, ambitious, a personal enemy of Crispi, unpopular with the whole democratic party as "Cavour's evil familiar"; and it was easy to persuade the dictator, that a man who was the premier's friend and had voted for the cession of Nice, could be no friend of his. La Farina, without waiting to sound his ground, began an uncompromising attack on Crispi's government; and it became a base personal struggle between them, in which Cavour vainly tried to hold his hot lieutenant in. La Farina knew that he had the public opinion of the island

¹ Nisco, *Francesco II.*, 43; La Farina, *op. cit.*, II. 333-334; D'Ancona, *op. cit.* II. 99.

behind him. Crispi was unpopular; the Sicilians were impatient for a settlement. Persano and some of Garibaldi's best generals supported them, and the pressure was so strong, that Garibaldi was obliged to dismiss Crispi. But Crispi still had the dictator's ear; and Garibaldi, already meaning to march to Rome and give no hostages to Cavour, was resolute to have no annexation yet. And though he had moods, when he was eager for general reconciliation, and even talked of decreeing annexation by virtue of his dictatorial powers, he banished La Farina from the island (July 7), and the victorious partisans added circumstances of studied indignity.

The high-handed intolerance of the act angered Cavour greatly. His anxiety had increased with the continued reports of the misgovernment; he was suspicious of Bertani's work at Genoa, and threatened Garibaldi (June 28) that if the ultra-democrat remained his agent, no more reinforcements would be allowed to start. As soon as La Farina returned (July 10), he stopped the supplies from the government's stores,¹ though he still permitted the volunteers to start. But he would not openly thwart Garibaldi; he wanted still to use him; he hoped no doubt to wean him from his mischievous surroundings, or leave him to wreck his reputation as a statesman. He corresponded with him through Persano as to La Farina's successor, and sent Depretis (July 21), who was acceptable to Garibaldi, because he had resigned office in protest against the cession of Nice. Depretis had some cleverness of a minor order; but his indecision, his rather elastic principles, his liking to go with the stream made him more of a tactician than a statesman. He succeeded fairly well as "pro-dictator," effecting a great improvement in the administration, and securing a step towards Unity by the introduction of the Piedmontese Statute. But Cavour, over-tolerant, insisted that he should work with Crispi, and Crispi took office again only on condition that there should be no talk of annexation till Naples was free. Inevitably Depretis became the leader of the annexationists, and the old struggle with all its dangers went on below the surface.

¹ CAVOUR, *op. cit.*, VI. 569; see Mario, *Bertani*, II. 93.

Cavour's great error was in not taking a stronger line. Had he been less deferential to Garibaldi, and boldly ordered a plebiscite for or against annexation, he would have saved Italy from much of the subsequent trouble. Such a course would have been hailed with delight by the great majority of the islanders; even as it was, Garibaldi was sometimes inclined to give way from sheer weariness.¹ But a bold policy required a stronger agent than Depretis. Cavour failed to secure the one man, who could have rescued Sicily from the slough of disorder and misrule. Ricasoli alone among Italian statesmen was strong enough for the post; the firm hand, the bold progressive mind, that had brought Tuscany through her crisis, would have quelled the elements of disorder, hushed the bitter feuds, and thrown the wasted energies of the island into material and social progress. It was an evil day for Italy, when Ricasoli refused to be governor of Sicily.

Meanwhile Garibaldi was completing the conquest of the island. After the capture of Palermo the want of sufficient forces and the troubles of government had prevented him from advancing. But there was soon no lack of troops. Garibaldi's success had sent a thrill through Italy, and to fight under him was the ideal of half the high-souled youths in the land. In Bologna alone, it is said, 7000 put down their names. Piedmontese soldiers deserted to go; Tuscans, though they hated conscription, were eager to enrol under Medici or Cosenz. Money poured into the Rifle Fund²; and Bertani at Genoa was giving his great organising powers to the despatch of reinforcements. Before July 20 over 9000 had arrived in Sicily, and Garibaldi was in a position to push forward. Medici had been skirmishing with Bosco's troops near Milazzo (July 17), and Garibaldi had to hurry up every man he could collect, to save him from being overwhelmed

¹ Mario, *Garibaldi*, 583; D'Ancona, *op. cit.*, II. 96; La Masa, *Fatti*, lxxxiv.

² It paid a million lire for Medici's expedition: Guerzoni, *op. cit.*, II. 126; according to Mazzini, *Opere*, XI. xciv, 855,000 lire were collected after Garibaldi's departure.

by heavy numbers. Taking the offensive, he attacked Bosco's strong position on the isthmus of Milazzo (July 20). It was a stiff fight, for the Neapolitans were well posted behind walls and cactus-hedges, and the Garibaldians dashed themselves in vain all morning against the half-hidden enemy. But they succeeded at last in turning the Neapolitan flank, and in the afternoon they won the town. Bosco might have held the castle for an indefinite period, for Garibaldi had no siege guns, but three days later he tamely surrendered. Syracuse and Agosta had already been evacuated, and the citadel of Messina was all that remained to the Bourbons in Sicily.

Garibaldi's progress forced Cavour to rapidly mature his plans. It was clear now that, but for some improbable accident, the Bourbon rule in Sicily was doomed, and everything pointed to its speedy collapse on the mainland. The oranges of Sicily, wrote Cavour, were ripe for eating, and the macaroni of Naples would soon be cooked. The enthusiasm, which Garibaldi had called out, was not confined to the youths, who hurried to fight under him. Cautious men like D'Azeglio and Lanza felt the wave; "the coolest-headed, the most moderate, the most conservative," Cavour wrote, "have become Unitarians." Their timidity had been dissolved out of them, as their minds became possessed with the vision of a great and united country. Ricasoli appealed to Cavour to break away from diplomatic entanglements, and let the King place himself boldly at the head of the movement. For the splendid hopes were dashed by the fear of anarchy and collision, and the prestige, that Garibaldi was winning, promised infinite trouble in the future. "Victor Emmanuel must be the real Garibaldi," was Ricasoli's formula, and he urged again and again, that the government "should make an end of it alike with Garibaldi in Sicily, the Bourbon at Naples, and the Pope at Rome; better a war with three Powers than Garibaldian anarchy." Cavour saw that the unity, for which he had expected to wait for years, was almost in his grasp. But the difficulties were greater than Ricasoli knew. It was Cavour's fixed maxim never to break with diplomacy, if it could be avoided. But

though he had lived in the world of diplomatists, and all his prepossessions made that way, he was not hide-bound by the diplomatic tradition. It was a more real danger that made him pause; he had ever before his eyes the fear of an Austrian attack, an attack before which he knew Italy could not yet stand alone; and because of this, the predominant necessity of keeping the Emperor's favour governed all his policy. He knew how slippery was Napoleon's throne, how hard it would be for him to continue his friendship, if the Italian government became frankly revolutionary. And to hoodwink the diplomatists, to preserve the Emperor's protection for Italy, he was willing to lie boldly and often. The moralist is bound to remember that he did it for no personal end, that he felt acutely that he was blotting his own good name; "if we did for ourselves, what we are doing for Italy," he told D'Azeglio, "we should be great knaves." Cavour, said La Marmora, who knew him well, was "never a trickster, on the contrary he was confident, open, impetuous." It was an overweening sense of national peril, that made him repay the Bourbons in their own coin of treachery. Whether his subterfuges helped his country's cause may be doubted, in spite of his own strong conviction that they were necessary. Had he, instead of trying to justify his actions to diplomacy, boldly defied conventions and broken openly with the Bourbons, he would probably have gained his end sooner as well as more honestly. But the real condemnation of his policy is that, to gain present success for his country, he sacrificed the more precious possession of her honour, that he subtly influenced for evil the traditions of Italian statesmanship, and made it easier for baser men after him to drag her good name in the dust.

After the loss of Palermo, Francis almost in despair¹ had appealed to Napoleon to save his tottering throne, and mediate between him and the Revolution. The Emperor refused to act (June 12), unless he promised complete independence under a Bourbon prince for Sicily, a constitution in Naples, and an offer of alliance with Piedmont. The

¹ He is said to have telegraphed five times in twenty-four hours for the Pope's blessing: Walpole, *Russell*, II. 323.

latter condition, on which the Emperor insisted most, was the sorest. Francis had been moving heaven and earth to deal Piedmont a blow in Romagna, and tried hard to evade a step, which meant practical vassalage to the hated rival and an early war with Austria. But his ministers had lost all courage, and it was decided after some delay (June 22) to accede to the Emperor's requirements, saving the substitution of home rule for independence in Sicily. The Emperor pressed Cavour to accept the Neapolitan overtures, and tried to induce the English government to join in imposing an armistice, and send the two fleets to the Straits to prevent Garibaldi from crossing. Cavour knew that to accept the overtures meant checkmate to annexation, and public opinion had declared loudly against a Neapolitan alliance. He determined to make the negotiations come to nothing, "to let the King of Naples fall, while safeguarding appearances." But he dared not reject the Emperor's advice outright; he professed his adhesion to the principle of the alliance (though on the same day (June 27) he was writing his hopes that Garibaldi would cross the Straits), but he bargained for hard conditions, that he knew Francis would be loath to grant.¹ When the Emperor asked that the King should use his influence to check Garibaldi's advance, Cavour, after some fencing, consented (July 6) that Victor Emmanuel should write to the Dictator, but only if Francis would forswear all attempts to reconquer Sicily; and secure of English support, he refused to waive the condition. At the same time he sent word to Garibaldi, that he was resolute to complete the great work, provided they could act in concert. Francis on his side was equally insincere, and while the negotiations were proceeding, ordered Bosco to attack Medici; but growing desperate, as the toils narrowed round him, he lowered his conditions, then, throwing obligations to the winds, proposed a partition of Papal territory between himself and Piedmont. Francis' facile

¹ Cavour, *op. cit.*, III. 274, 277; Ricasoli, *op. cit.*, V. 130; Bianchi, *Diplomazia*, VIII. 307, 663, 666; Spaventa, *Dal 1848*, 295. The expressions of sincerity in Bianchi, *Politique de Cavour*, 368, 371, must be false. See also Chiala, *Dina*, I. 309

acceptance of more than his terms drove Cavour to bay; he did not dare any longer to delay the letter to Garibaldi, and the King wrote (July 22), advising him to surrender his designs on Naples, if Francis would leave Sicily free. But the letter was so worded as to court a refusal; and Cavour let Garibaldi know that this would be welcome.¹ He trusted to England to defeat the proposals for an armistice; and Russell, whether from suspicion of French designs on Sardinia, or from friendliness to Italy, flatly rejected the Emperor's proposals (July 26). Napoleon saw at once that this sealed the doom of the Bourbons; he was probably glad to find the matter taken out of his hands, and wrote (July 27) an open letter, in which he said that "he hoped that Italy would obtain peace, never mind how, provided that he could withdraw his troops from Rome and foreign intervention could be avoided." Prince Napoleon sent a private message to Garibaldi, that the Emperor advised him to outstrip diplomacy with accomplished facts.² Cavour's clever, unscrupulous waiting game had succeeded in making events responsible for the failure of the Neapolitan proposals.

He could now go ahead. He was confident that Garibaldi would refuse to obey the King, and that the French would make no attempt to prevent his crossing; he sent, it is probable, a large sum of money to the Dictator, and though he instructed Persano (August 1) to delay Garibaldi's crossing as long as he could, it was only to forestall him in overthrowing the Bourbons. It was impossible, even had he wished it, to stop Garibaldi; but he must contest with him the championship of Unity. He was still suspicious of his loyalty, and determined, if possible, to prevent his amateur politicians from spreading anarchy through the Southern mainland as they had done in Sicily. He realized the danger, which Ricasoli had been pressing on him so earnestly, that if Garibaldi triumphed at Naples, it would mean a dualism of authority, that it would be difficult, if not impossible, for Victor Emmanuel's government to preserve its

¹ Persano, *Diario*, I. 89; Bianchi, *Politique de Cavour*, 375; Vecchi, *op. cit.*, 177.

² Forbes, *op. cit.*, 137.

prestige, that there would be all the elements of discord between North and South, between the monarchy at Turin and a hardly veiled republic at Naples, followed by an advance of the Garibaldians on Rome with all its tremendous complications and risks. All this might be prevented, if he could anticipate Garibaldi by inducing the Neapolitans to revolt and annex themselves to Piedmont, before the Dictator arrived. If they initiated the revolution themselves, he could plead to the Powers that circumstances forced him to step in. All negotiations with the Bourbons were now at an end, and his attitude was one of frank hostility. "We must either become conspirators to make Italy," he said, "or perish with the nation."

There seemed a fair hope that Naples would respond. The Piedmontese party there, hitherto undecided and afraid, suddenly took strength and consistency. When in deference to Napoleon's insistence, Francis proclaimed the constitution (June 25), his tardy concession was received with almost universal contempt. It was the fourth time that the Bourbons had promised a constitution,¹ and nobody believed in the sincerity of the motives that prompted it. A "Committee of Order," which had been formed at the end of 1859 to discipline the various sections of nationalists, was in correspondence with both La Farina and Bertani, and under its auspices, the Basilicata was as early as April planning revolution in the name of Victor Emmanuel. And though there was the same hesitation and suspicion, that had wrecked the movement in 1848 and 1857, there was sufficient agitation to show that it was fear and not loyalty, that postponed the revolution.

But Cavour was relying more on the conspirators in the heart of the government itself. He had had information, that showed how eaten through it was with faction and treachery. Civil servants betrayed state secrets to the National Society. There was little loyalty even among the favourites of the hated race, and a stampede began to make peace with the new rule, which seemed so near. A faint conception of Italian patriotism may have helped to influence

¹ See above, Vol. I., pp. 16, 24, 206.

some, but for the most part it was the base desertion of a failing cause. The Bourbons had their own measure meted them for the long tale of treachery to the nation. Nunziante, son of the man who harried Calabria in 1848, and one of Francis' most trusted generals, promised Cavour to secure a military pronouncement against the Bourbons. The king's uncle, the Count of Syracuse, followed him into the conspiracy. A more important caballer was Liborio Romano, the Minister of the Interior, an able ambitious barrister, who had been implicated in every rising from 1820 downwards, and now in his aging years had won his way to favour and office. He was practically master of the city, for he had organised a national guard and had won the *Camorra*, which, after being used by the absolutism for its own ends, had probably already sold its help to the Revolution. By a daring stroke he turned the camorristi into police, when the old force was disbanded in June, and secured them to the conspiracy. And whatever may have been the after-effect of his strategy, at all events it saved Naples from a repetition of the bloodshed of 1848.

Directly after the breakdown of the negotiations for alliance, Cavour instructed Villamarina (July 30) to put himself into communication with the conspirators. If only Nunziante could fulfil his promises, it would save the Neapolitan army for Italy, and Venetia might be attacked in the spring. On the same day he ordered Persano to steam to Naples with part of his fleet, and in concert with Romano secretly land a store of rifles, while a troop of *bersaglieri* was kept on board the squadron in readiness. While the Committee of Order under Romano's patronage were preparing a popular rising, Nunziante, perhaps helped by Piedmontese gold, was actively intriguing in the army. But he had exaggerated his powers; Romano hesitated at the critical moment, and Villamarina probably played his part badly. By August 23 the conspirators informed Cavour that their hopes of winning the army had been disappointed. The prospects of a rising in the capital seemed equally dark. The provinces indeed had begun to stir; some of the Piedmontese rifles reached the Basilicata; on August 16

Corleto proclaimed the revolution, and next day Potenza, the capital of the province, organised a provisional government in the name of Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi. As soon as Garibaldi crossed the Straits the revolution spread to Puglia on the East, and Salerno on the West, and before he advanced beyond Calabria, the Bourbons had lost their kingdom, and perhaps 10,000 volunteers of the mainland were under arms.¹ But though the provinces showed a good front, everything so centred in the capital that the rising did nothing to serve Cavour's plans, while Naples remained inert. Discord had grown up between the Moderates and Democrats in the Committee of Order, and though there was no open friction, the want of loyal cooperation paralysed its efforts. While Cavour's friends wanted to drive Francis out at once, and seize the government for Victor Emmanuel, the more democratic element, seceding at Mazzini's instigation, formed a Committee of Action, which aimed at delaying the movement till Garibaldi's arrival, that the glory of expelling the Bourbons might go to him, and the new government fall into his hands. The same want of common sense, which lost the Neapolitan cause in 1848, killed any hope that Naples would make a spontaneous effort to free herself. By August 24 Cavour had convinced himself that a rising there was impossible. "It is no longer at Naples," he wrote, "that we can acquire the force necessary to overawe the revolution." His failure made him turn to a move, which he had probably been keeping in reserve since June,² a bold but risky stroke, that might win all Italy and win it for the monarchy. His plan was to send a strong expedition to occupy Umbria and the Marches, regain prestige for the royal army by breaking up La Moricière's force and completing the rout of the Bourbonists, and, if necessary, send the King to Naples in such strength, that Garibaldi would be forced to take the second place. "If we are not at the Volturno before Garibaldi is at La Cattolica," he said, "the monarchy is lost."

¹ Lacava, *Basilicata*, 413 et seq.; Nisco, *op. cit.*, 97, 102-105; *Riv. stor. del risorg.*, I. 223; Tivaroni, *L'Italia*, II. 289-291.

² Chiala, *Politica segreta*, 110; see Massari, *Cavour*, 383.

There were other reasons for his decision. The Bourbons had an army of 100,000 men still intact, and it was probable that La Moricière would lend them part of his forces. Garibaldi might have a desperate struggle to reach Naples, perhaps a terrible disaster, unless an attack from the North kept La Moricière at home, and divided the Bourbon forces. And he knew that a cast for Umbria could not be long delayed. The provinces were exasperated by the volunteers, especially by the overbearing and disorderly Irish. The nationalist volunteers, who were gathering in Romagna and Tuscany, could hardly be held in from crossing the frontier. Mazzini had been working busily through the summer to prepare an expedition to Umbria. Undeterred by the fiasco of Zambianchi's raid and the diversion of Medici's force to Sicily, he was agitating for a movement, that would not only gain the rest of Central Italy and be a step towards Rome, but would create an influence independent both of Cavour and Garibaldi, which might perhaps in the chapter of accidents upset the monarchy.¹ Bertani's single-hearted loyalty to the cause kept him above the petty jealousies that influenced Mazzini; but he too had kept the Umbrian plan in mind ever since Garibaldi started, and had 6000 men at Genoa destined for it, while 2000 were waiting in Romagna, and as many more near Signa under the republican Nicotera with a promise from Ricasoli to supply them with rifles conditionally on his help not being vetoed by Cavour. Garibaldi threw himself warmly into the scheme, intending no doubt that the insurrectionary armies should converge on Rome.² So far the government at Turin had either connived, or thought that Bertani's men were another batch of reinforcements for Sicily.³ But about July 22 Cavour first got wind of their real destination; or, if he already knew of it, the angry remonstrances, that poured on him

¹ Mazzini, *Opere*, XI. xcvi-cxxxi; Pianciani, *op. cit.*, 85; see Thouvenel, *Le secret*, I. 165.

² Mazzini, *Opere*, XI. cxii; Mario, *Bertani*, II. 163; Id., *Nicotera*, 47; Guerzoni, *op. cit.*, II. 157-158; Ricasoli, *op. cit.*, V. 171. His repudiation in his *Memorie*, 374, and *Les Mille*, 141, is as unreliable as many other statements in those books.

³ Probably the former: see Pianciani, *op. cit.*, 119, 121.

from abroad, frightened him. He knew what delicate ground he was treading on, for he wanted to keep on good terms with the Garibaldians, and no doubt hoped to utilize the Tuscan volunteers for his own schemes. Bertani appealed to the King, promising that, if the expedition were allowed to start, he would take the responsibility upon himself and attack no point that was held by French troops. Farini was sent to tell him (August 1-2) that the government intended "to blow their own trumpets in a few days," but that they must save appearances, and on no account would allow the volunteers from Genoa to sail directly for Papal or Tuscan coasts; if however they started in small bodies, they might muster in the Golfo degli Aranci, off Sardinia, and provided they touched first in Sicily, the government would wash its hands of their subsequent destination. On these conditions it would supply funds and every facility for enrolling men and chartering vessels. Bertani agreed to the terms, but nothing was decided as to the volunteers at Signa, and he started with his expedition, intending to break the compact, if he could, and confident that he could persuade Garibaldi to come himself, and lead the volunteers to their original destination. Mazzini went to Florence, apparently in ignorance of the agreement, and as soon as the news of it reached Tuscany, he and Nicotera decided to cross the frontier, and make a desperate attack on Perugia. Nicotera issued what Cavour designated with reason "a republican programme," and the premier, frightened at the complications he was drifting into, took strong measures. Farini issued (August 13) a heated circular, fulminating against illegal intrusion into affairs of state. No more volunteers were allowed to sail, and Cavour sent a peremptory order to Ricasoli that Nicotera's men should be disbanded. Ricasoli protested against the sudden rigour, and came to an arrangement with the volunteers, under which they quietly disarmed and were conveyed by the government to Sicily.¹

¹ Ricasoli, *op. cit.*, V. 184, 189, 206-223; Mario, *Bertani*, II. 145-153; Mazzini, *Opere*, XI. cxxxii-cxxxiii; Pianciani, *op. cit.*, *passim*. Ricasoli was charged with disloyalty to the agreement, but I think the evidence shows that Nicotera did not understand its terms.

The incident no doubt strengthened Cavour's conviction of the need for speedy action. But Farini's statement to Bertani was a little premature. Cavour had determined on invasion at an early date, but he knew the tremendous risk, and he was waiting till he could discount some of its dangers. If he advanced in defiance of Napoleon, the French withdrawal from Rome would be even more indefinitely postponed; it was even possible that the Italian army might find itself in front of a French force, and be compelled to retire ignominiously, or face an impossible contest, with Austria hanging round in the background to pick up the spoils. Even if Cavour could win the Emperor, there was the greater risk that, while the best Italian troops were absent in the South, Austria would take the opportunity to attack. If La Moricière and Francis joined hands and crushed Garibaldi, the Italian army might find itself between a powerful force in the South and the whole strength of Austria in the North. And even if the French were eventually drawn into the struggle, a terrible disaster at the beginning of the war was almost inevitable. Cavour was prepared, as a last resort, to take the risk of an Austrian attack,¹ which at all events would dispel the fears of civil war. But he dreaded so terrible a trial, and hoped to safeguard himself both from Austria and France by securing Napoleon's approval beforehand. The Emperor could ill afford for his own prestige's sake to allow his ally to be crushed and the results of the war undone. It happened that at the moment he was visiting Savoy. Cavour sent Farini and Cialdini to Chambéry, to sound him as to his views respecting Umbria. They told him (August 28) that the insurrection was at the point of breaking out, that Garibaldi's success threatened to throw Italy into the arms of the revolution, that the danger could only be met, if Victor Emmanuel outbid Garibaldi and occupied Central Italy. They promised that, if the Emperor gave his approval to the invasion, the government would consider Rome itself inviolable, and they probably also undertook that the Piedmontese would not enter Papal territory, till an insurrection

¹ Cavour, *Lettere*, III. 331.

had broken out. Napoleon was in a mood to listen; he had well-nigh lost patience with Papal obstinacy, he knew that La Moricière's army was a nest of Legitimist conspiracy against his own throne, that the white cockade was worn openly at Rome. He was anxious as ever to withdraw his troops, and perhaps hoped that the Piedmontese advance would frighten the Pope into flight, and remove the chief pretext for their presence. He readily gave his consent, going so far as to discuss the limits of the Piedmontese occupation. "Do it, if you want to, but do it quick," were his parting words.¹ Farini and Cialdini returned to Turin on August 29. Two days later the ministry decided to invade. The insurrection was to break out on September 8, and on pretext of preventing a repetition of the Perugian massacre, the Piedmontese army would at once cross the frontier. "With God's help," Cavour said, "Italy will be made before three months are out."

¹ Cavour, *op. cit.*, III. 354, 372; IV. 3; VI. 582-583, 590, 687; Thouvenel, *op. cit.*, I. 160, 192, 237; Revel, *Da Ancona*, 23; Pantaleoni, *Idea italiana*, 36-38; Castelli, *Carteggio*, I. 312, 320-321. The French official version was that the Emperor allowed the Italians to enter to restore order and if necessary fight the revolution at Naples, but not to touch the Pope's authority. Beust, *Memoirs*, I. 203, is opposed to all the evidence.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE ANNEXATION OF THE SOUTH

AUGUST 1860—FEBRUARY 1861

Garibaldi crosses the Straits; his advance through Calabria; the Bourbonists desert Francis; GARIBALDI AT NAPLES. THE PIEDMONTESE INVADE UMBRIA AND THE MARCHES; La Moricière; Castelfidardo. Garibaldi wants to march to Rome; the dictatorship at Naples; agitation for annexation; battle of the Volturno. Garibaldi demands Cavour's dismissal; the King to go to Naples; the plebiscites. Austria threatens attack. The King in the Abruzzi; the two armies; battle of the Garigliano; the King at Naples; Garibaldi retires to Caprera. The siege of Gaeta.

GARIBALDI had already gone far to make it. He had taken the King's letter at its worth, and replied that his obligations to the Neapolitans prevented him from obeying. After the victory at Milazzo he had encamped his men on the Straits near Messina. He was puzzled how to cross, for the Neapolitan cruisers held the sea, and though Persano had sent a man-of-war to assist him as far as a show of neutrality allowed, this was of little use.¹ On August 8 a small body of 200 men succeeded in crossing, but they were obliged to retreat into the forests of Aspromonte. A few days later Bertani arrived with the news that the expedition destined for Central Italy was at the Golfo degli Aranci, and at the same time Garibaldi learnt that the government had disarmed Nicotera's men, and were intending to advance themselves into the Marches.² Despairing perhaps of crossing, while the Neapolitan fleet

¹ Apparently Persano acted contrary to Cavour's instructions; positive orders to assist did not reach the Admiral till after Garibaldi had crossed: Persano, *Diario*, II. 23, 57, 89; Cavour, *Lettere*, III. 321.

² Forbes, *Garibaldi*, 123.

remained intact, perhaps wishing to play check to Cavour's new move, perhaps persuaded by Bertani, he hurried to Sardinia, intending to use the expedition for a blow at Naples. When, on arriving at the Gulf (August 13) he found that part of the expedition had already sailed, he rapidly changed his plans, and returning to Palermo, decided to attempt the crossing without further delay.

On August 20 he eluded the enemy's cruisers, landed with 4000 men near Melito at the south end of the Straits, and stormed Reggio. There were 30,000 Neapolitan troops in Calabria, but, as he had done in Sicily, he hoped to stun them with his bold and rapid movements. He succeeded beyond hope. Nine thousand men at San Giovanni tamely surrendered, and after murdering Briganti, their general, dispersed. Garibaldi was now master of both sides of the Straits, and the remainder of his forces crossed without difficulty. The insurgents from the Greek and Calabrian villages round Aspromonte came in,¹ and as he marched on along the lovely coast, several thousands of Calabrians joined him. The Neapolitans might still have made a good defence. They had 20,000 troops still intact in the province, and the road abounded in strong places, which might have been easily defended. But the rot spread fast; discipline had crumbled away under the Liberal propagandism and Nunziante's intrigues, and officers and men only wanted to be disbanded and sent home. At Cosenza Caldarelli's brigade, 7000 strong, laid down their arms at the first bravado summons of the populace; Viale with 12,000 more at the pass of Monteleone was threatened with Briganti's fate and hurriedly retreated; his successor, finding himself surrounded by Stocco's Calabrian bands, surrendered without a blow. The Basilicata had risen a fortnight before, and half the kingdom was free, though the Garibaldians had hardly fired a shot since Reggio. It was the very comedy of conquest; Garibaldi drove on with hardly an escort, miles ahead of his soldiers, amid the huzzaing populace, master of a kingdom won without arms.

¹ They thought that Garibaldi was the brother of Christ.

In the Bourbon court all was confusion. Garibaldi's mere crossing had created a panic, and Francis sent him word (August 27), that if he would suspend hostilities, he would lend him 50,000 men to fight the Austrians or La Moricière;¹ so low had the champion of Legitimacy been brought. The King's one chance of success was to put himself at the head of his troops, but his generals, less than half loyal, and bitterly jealous of one another, discouraged him. It was the last act of the sordid drama of treachery, that brought the Bourbons to their doom. The Count of Syracuse had gone to Turin; Liborio Romano was openly conspiring, and at last went to meet Garibaldi and invite him to Naples. When the news came that the troops near Salerno were mutinying, and that the fleet was at the point of going over, Francis left Naples (September 6), and the Savoy arms were put up in the city even before he went. Next morning Garibaldi arrived by rail with a few attendants. The royal troops were still in possession of the forts, and Garibaldi and the city were at their mercy. But he drove unheeding through the streets, and the troops marched away unmolested and unmolested. It was a scene of fantastic carnival medley. The people, so lately too cowed to help themselves, were delirious with delight, when others had won their freedom, and Romano's camorrist police took care that the ovation should be unanimous, sparing, it is said, neither life nor limb of those who would not shout for the dictator. Garibaldi, the hater of Pope and priests, went with the crowd to offer thanks at the festival of Piedigrotta, and reverently watched the liquefying of St. Januarius' blood.

On the same day that Garibaldi entered Naples, Cavour sent his ultimatum to Antonelli. On the pretext that La Moricière's volunteers were a standing offence to Italian sentiment, and a menace to the safety of the Umbrians, he demanded that they should be disarmed and disbanded. Two days later Fanti, who was in command of the mobilized

¹ Zini, *Storia*, II. 658; Bianchi, *Diplomazia*, VIII. 322; Mario, *Garibaldi*, 591; Arrivabene, *Italy*, II. 96. Perhaps Garibaldi was half inclined to accept: Turr, *Risposta*, 15.

troops on the frontier, sent a despatch to La Moricière to warn him that any attempt to intimidate or suppress nationalist agitation would be followed by immediate occupation. The two messages reached Rome on September 10, and the Cardinals at once accepted the challenge. It was a brave but hopeless resolution. La Moricière's cosmopolitan force numbered only 20,000, the majority of them undisciplined volunteers. The Irish were semi-mutinuous; the regulars were full of disaffection; the Pope's government had thwarted La Moricière at every step. He was "humiliated and disgusted" by the disorder he found in every branch of the administration, by Antonelli's personal unfriendliness, by the obstructiveness of the local authorities. He had been led to believe that the Emperor would send troops to assist him,¹ and in disposing his forces, he had assumed that the French would at least protect Western Umbria, and leave him free to operate with his full strength in the East. He was determined to severely repress any signs of disaffection, and though his rather savage intentions had little result, the dread of another massacre checked the projected insurrection in the greater part of the province.

The Italian volunteers crossed the frontier on the day fixed for the rising, preceding the overwhelming Piedmontese force, that followed two days later (September 10), without waiting for Antonelli's answer. Fanti, with Cialdini and Della Rocca for his lieutenants, had 35,000 men mobilized under his command. Della Rocca advanced into Umbria towards Perugia, while Cialdini crossing into the Marches at La Cattolica took the coast road towards Pesaro and Ancona. La Moricière, misled by his expectation of French support, scattered his forces through the Marches and Eastern Umbria, making his base at Ancona, and running the risk of being hemmed in between the Piedmontese and the sea. Nothing checked the victorious advance of the invaders. Cialdini took Pesaro and Sinigaglia without difficulty; Della

¹ Zini, *Storia, Documents II.*, 668; Bianchi, *op. cit.*, VIII. 341-345, 679-680; Veuillot, *Piémont*, 33-36, 528; Balan, *Continuazione*, II. 231, 253; Thouvenel, *Le secret*, I. 273-274; La Gorce, *Second Empire*, III. 418-420. La Moricière's report is in Veuillot, *op. cit.*, pp. 481 *et seq.*

Rocca stormed Perugia. Spoleto was brilliantly defended by O'Reilly's Irish, but it could make no prolonged resistance; and before Della Rocca could cross the Apennines to effect a junction with Cialdini, the latter had intercepted La Moricière's retreat on Ancona, and forced him to give battle on the hills of Castelfidardo (September 18). It was a hopelessly unequal fight; Cialdini had 13,000 men against La Moricière's 5000 badly-armed, demoralized remnant. Some of the Papal volunteers made a fine but forlorn dash on the Italian lines, but part of the Swiss troops and the native artillery broke as soon as they came under fire, and La Moricière escaped to Ancona with a handful of men, leaving his disordered and leaderless force to surrender at discretion. Ancona made a spirited defence against Cialdini's batteries and Persano's fleet, but capitulated on the 24th. The brief campaign had ended in unbroken success; and though the odds were overwhelmingly on the Italian side, Fanti's operations stood in brilliant contrast to the strategy of the older school of Piedmontese generalship. Meanwhile Della Rocca's light columns were within three hours' march of Rome. Despite the French garrison, the city expected the early entry of the Piedmontese, and every house had its tricolor ready to welcome the King.¹ The Pope was eager to fly, and it was with the greatest difficulty that Gramont dissuaded him.² Had he gone, the French garrison would have followed, and the Emperor would have regarded Victor Emmanuel's occupation as the natural sequel.³ Italy was within an ace of escape from all the untold evil, that the presence of the Papacy at Rome has since brought to her.

With La Moricière's defeat the Unity of Italy was nearly accomplished. Excepting Venetia and the Trentino in the North, and Rome and the Papal coast-line, and the small district still held by Francis' troops between Capua and Gaeta, all Italy was free. The danger now lay in the discord between the two nationalist forces, whose victorious

¹ Further Correspondence 1860, VII. 93. The drapers' shops ran out of red and green stuffs.

² Thouvenel, *op. cit.*, I. 227; VielCastel, *Mémoires*, VI. 94.

³ *Affaires étrangères 1860*, 119; Cavour, *op. cit.*, VI. 607; Thouvenel, *op. cit.*, I. 320; Castelli, *Carteggio*, I. 237.

advance had nearly met. Garibaldi's distrust of Cavour, assiduously fomented by the mischief-makers round him, was strengthened by the credence he gave to a baseless rumour that the premier had promised to cede Sardinia to France in exchange for a free hand in Italy. Flushed by his triumphs, he resolved not to lay his sword down till Rome was free; and so long as the task remained unfinished, he intended to remain dictator in Naples and Sicily. Cavour, for his part, was equally suspicious of Garibaldi. He was sensible that public opinion alike in Italy and Europe would condemn any rupture with the dictator, that was not absolutely unavoidable; but he knew the danger of his mad design on Rome, he dreaded a repetition of the Sicilian anarchy at Naples. He had gauged all the weakness of Garibaldi's character, and though his suspicions may seem unworthy in view of the dictator's real loyalty to the King, Garibaldi's surroundings and exceeding pliability went far to justify them. Even after the failure of his agents at Naples, Cavour had tried to forestall him by getting Persano or Villamarina or the Count of Syracuse made dictator before his arrival; and when he was warned that this might lead to civil war, he still tried to anticipate him by a provisional government, which would drive out the Bourbons and keep the control in sane hands. At the same time (August 30) he wrote not very ingenuously to Garibaldi, asking him to return to the old terms of confidence for the sake of the common cause. The scheme of a provisional government in its turn practically broke down, for though the revolutionary committees appointed one, when Francis fled, it was on the understanding that it should in its turn proclaim Garibaldi's dictatorship under Victor Emmanuel.

Garibaldi on his arrival had been very angry at this mild attempt of the Neapolitans to act for themselves¹; he threatened to imprison the members of the day-old government, and brushed them off the stage. But his first acts might have satisfied the most exacting royalist. He handed over the Neapolitan fleet to Persano; he put the arsenal

¹ Though at the end of July he had backed Cavour's attempts to persuade the Neapolitans to rise: Carbonelli, *Mignona*, 198.

into the hands of the Piedmontese *bersaglieri*, and declared that all the acts of government should be in the King's name. A few days later he introduced by decree the Piedmontese Statute and jury and army laws, and abolished the separate consular service and the customs-lines with the rest of Italy. He had platonic dreams of tolerance for all parties; but Garibaldi's mind was always a battle-ground between a real aversion to partisanship and its own strong jealousies and suspicions, and the men who surrounded him soon brought the latter to the front again. Naples had become a very nest of Cavour's enemies, republicans in theory, though they had accepted Victor Emmanuel against the grain, and bitter opponents of the Piedmontese hegemony and the moderate liberalism of Parliament; men with noble theories of national dignity and social reform, but without any capacity to give their theories effect. Mazzini had hurried there; Bertani, impetuous, imprudent, generous, now Secretary to the Dictator, was irritating army and civilians by his unwillingness to moderate his sweeping schemes. Had Bertani been under a more balanced chief, his energy and thoroughness and intense sympathy with the poor might have made him a great administrator. He sketched a wide and wise programme of social reform,—the introduction of an efficient school system, the nationalization of church and demesne lands, the development of railways and telegraphs, the introduction of savings-banks, the reform of charities and public health, the clearing of the slums of Naples.¹ Unluckily Bertani was the centre of the party, which made settled government impossible, which tried to keep out of the South the one body of men who were capable of administering it, and wasted energies, that should have gone to a strong pull for reform, in a feud which threatened to plunge the new kingdom into civil war.

For Garibaldi was more than ever bent on going to Rome, and postponing annexation till Victor Emmanuel could be crowned on the Capitol. In vain Persano tried to dissuade him; in vain Elliot, the British minister, pointed out all the dangers of his scheme. He made light of them; he was

¹ Mario, *Bertani*, II. 198-202.

confident that the 40,000 men, who still were constant to the Bourbon flag, would dissolve as the armies of Sicily and Calabria had done. He believed that the French would never fight for the Temporal Power; England would secure their withdrawal, and "Bonaparte had a straw tail, and was afraid it should catch fire." Hungary would rise at a word, and Venetia fall an easy prey to the united Italian forces. Even Nice would be gathered back again to the fold. He heard of the decision to invade Umbria with mixed feelings, rejoicing that it sealed the doom of the Temporal Power in Umbria and the Marches, but fearing that it might "draw a cordon of defence round the Pope." He set his face more than ever against annexation. A few weeks before, when in Calabria, he would, but for Bertani's influence, have allowed Depretis to annex Sicily.¹ Now he would have none of it. Depretis, finding that annexation was the only alternative to anarchy, had bearded Crispi, and had the angry impatience of the island behind him. But Crispi kept his hold on Garibaldi, and the dictator, blinded by his passionate partisanship, tried to crush down opposition with a heavy hand, and dismissing Depretis, appointed Mordini, a strong anti-annexationist, to take his place (September 17).

The same struggle was fought on a bigger scale at Naples. The mainland was as impatient as Sicily for annexation. There was indeed no anarchy here as on the island, for the mad festive carnival never degenerated into serious disorder, and St. Januarius' blood liquefied three hours before time. Still there was danger, with a camorrist police, whose good behaviour rapidly disappeared, with all the capital's perennial elements of riot, with disbanded soldiers and escaped convicts sowing the seed of trouble, and the reaction already lifting its head at Ariano. The civil service had grown, if possible, more corrupt since the revolution, for Bertani filled it with adventurers as light-heartedly as Crispi had done in Sicily. Pensions and sinecures were lavished on every real or professed "martyr" of the tyranny. Eighty thousand rifles, that had been sent for the national

¹ Bertani, *Ire politiche*, 74-76; Turr, *op. cit.*, 16; see D'Ancona, *Amari*, II. 131, which I am inclined to disbelieve.

guard, disappeared and fell into dangerous hands.¹ A railway concession was granted on terms scandalously unfavourable to the state. Crispi was Foreign Minister, and there was open friction between him and the Cavourians in Garibaldi's Cabinet, still more between the Cabinet and Bertani, till Bertani's independent power became intolerable, and the generals forced Garibaldi to dismiss him (October 1).

A brilliant victory did something to relieve the sombre situation. As soon as his men arrived at Naples, Garibaldi had pushed them on towards the Volturno, behind which Francis had collected the 40,000 or 50,000, who still remained faithful to him, with the strong fortress of Capua as a *tête-du-pont* on the left of the river. Garibaldi's position was a weak one at the best, and it was impossible for him to take the offensive. There was danger that the Bourbon army with good roads in front and superior strength of numbers would force its way through the volunteers and recapture Naples; and to guard the city Garibaldi had to keep a dangerously extended formation. His 24,000 ill-armed and ill-disciplined men, of whom over 10,000 were Calabrians and Sicilians, had to protect a line of over twelve miles from the railway at Santa Maria to the heights of Sant' Angelo and Castello di Morone on the Volturno, and bending back to the right far away to the south-east at Maddaloni. On October 1 the Bourbon forces attacked all along the line. They had recovered their morale; they had a powerful cavalry and artillery, and their numbers doubled those of the volunteers. It was with the utmost difficulty that Milbitz at Santa Maria and Medici at Sant' Angelo could hold their own against more than double odds. But Garibaldi held his reserves in hand till the critical moment, and when he brought them up at two o'clock, the Neapolitans were weary with the long struggle. By five o'clock the Garibaldians had recaptured all their positions, and were pursuing the retreating enemy to the walls of Capua. At

¹ Revel, *Da Ancona*, 167-168, 191, 202, 210; De Cesare, *Scialoja*, 142; D'Ayala, *Memorie*, 335-338, 345; *Collezione delle leggi*, 378; Minghetti's speech of April 3, 1861. Dumas was given 30,000 francs to write a history of the Bourbons, according to Tivaroni, *L'Italia*, II. 336.

the same time Bixio with 5000 at Maddaloni routed the 8000 opposed to him, and Bronzetti's handful of 300 men at Castel Morone kept 4000 at bay all day, till every one of the brave defenders was killed or wounded. The whole Garibaldian loss was 1800, or treble that of the Piedmontese in the whole Umbrian campaign. When the battle was over, Villamarina had, apparently in spite of his instructions, sent forward the battalion of Piedmontese *bersaglieri* at Naples, but they came too late to take any part in the fighting, though they helped next day to repel a fierce attack on Caserta. A few Piedmontese gunners served the artillery at Santa Maria, when all Milbitz' gunners had been killed or wounded. But except for this small help, the Garibaldians won their great victory unaided.¹ And if a lay judgment may be trusted, the battle of the Volturno is the most brilliant of modern Italian victories. The volunteers had all the tenacity and more than the dash of the Piedmontese regulars; and Garibaldi's consummate generalship was finely backed by his lieutenants. The Bourbon troops, largely Swiss and Austrian mercenaries, fought well, and it needed the finest qualities alike in commanders and men to defend a weak position against such superiority of numbers.

The Volturno however did little to solve the dangers of the position—Garibaldi's want of power to bring the campaign to an end, the greater peril of collision with the monarchy. While he was allowing all South Italy to simmer in ever more critical confusion, he made a fatuous attempt to get Cavour removed from office. Garibaldi had no vulgar pride; he was hardly dazzled by his own wonderful success. But he had a supreme indifference for parliament and constitution; to him there were only two men in Italy, who counted for aught, the King and himself; and he was possessed by a fanatical hatred of Cavour and his party. In answer to the premier's approaches, he had replied (September 15) that he would never be

¹ Bosio, *Villamarina*, 237-242; Guerzoni, *Garibaldi*, II. 195; Forbes, *op. cit.*, 304, 313; *Riv. stor. del risorg.*, I. 224; Lecomte, *L'Italie en 1860*, 124; Adamoli, *Da San Martino*, 160.

the friend of the man who had "humiliated the dignity of the nation and sold an Italian province." He had hardly entered Naples, when he wrote to the King, demanding the dismissal of Cavour and Farini; and undeterred by the King's curt refusal and the common censure of his strange presumption, he repeated the demand and offered immediate annexation as the price of the King's concurrence. But before the second letter arrived, Cavour had decided to take a step, which he knew meant checkmate to the Dictator. He found that Garibaldi's intention to go to Rome was strong as ever, and he was unreasonably afraid that the Dictator would proclaim the republic. He saw that the time had come to bridle him. Parliament was summoned to meet on October 2, and Cavour intended to ask for powers to incorporate the South into the kingdom. If the Chambers agreed, and Cavour knew he could safely count on that, for the irritation in the North was strong against Garibaldi, the King was to put himself at the head of the army at Ancona, as soon as the siege was over, and march south to Naples. If Garibaldi submitted, his power was at an end; if he defied the King, the government would at least send troops to Palermo and annex Sicily.

"If Garibaldi wants a struggle," said Cavour, "I accept it; I feel strong enough to fight him." But he was confident that the dictator would be magnetised by the King; though there would be no compromise with the system, there should be "infinite regard for Garibaldi himself," and he sent Persano (October 2) to make a last attempt to win him to friendship. "We will go to Rome some day," was his message; "now it is madness to think of it; we must accomplish the Venetian business together, and not lose ourselves in utopias."¹ On October 4 the Chamber by an almost unanimous vote gave power to the ministry to annex all provinces in Central and Southern Italy, which declared by plebiscite for annexation. Two days later the King was at Ancona. There was urgent need to hurry

¹ Cavour, *op. cit.*, IV. 32, 34; VI. 611; Persano, *op. cit.*, III. 87-88; Pallavicino, *Memorie*, III. 607; Bianchi, *Politique de Cavour*, 381; see also Mario, *Bertani*, II, 223, the accuracy of which I doubt.

his advance. Garibaldi's situation was still precarious, for he had no heavy artillery to reduce Capua and Gaeta, and meanwhile he was tied to his lines. The political struggle had been only interrupted by the battle. Pallavicino had come from Turin with another sharp refusal from the King. The rigid indomitable old patriot was no friend of Cavour; but he saw all the madness of Garibaldi's policy, and he was determined to have no dealings with the Bertani party and lend all his weight to the annexationists. Naples was in danger of anarchy, and impatient to bring the anomalous position to an end. Crispi had succeeded Bertani as Secretary to the Dictator, and was trying to put down the annexationists by force.¹ Garibaldi had little sense of the danger, and was trying to suppress beggary and secure better treatment for cab-horses instead of facing the whole critical position. There was imminent danger of collision between the two nationalist armies. Bertani had shown an insane wish to forestall the Piedmontese in the Papal States,² and a foolish telegram from him to the commander of the national guards on the Abruzzi frontier had been reported as an order to fire on the royal troops. The report was false,³ and Garibaldi followed up the telegram with instructions to "receive the Piedmontese as brothers," and wrote to the King asking him to hurry on his troops. But the false version was believed everywhere, and the exasperation was intense. Pallavicino saw that prompt action was needed to save the Dictator from some fatal step, that might bring the country to the brink of civil war. At his suggestion the ministry at Naples decided to bring matters to a head and take a plebiscite, believing that Garibaldi had given his consent. Probably he did give it; he was puzzled and impatient about the whole matter; "I am a man of war," he said, "and do not understand these things;" he wanted the King to come, but he was still bent on marching to Rome, and he knew that annexation would be fatal to his schemes. Crispi, though he seems to

¹ Raccioppi, *Moti di Basilicata*, quoted in Tivaroni, *op. cit.*, II. 333-334.

² Bertani, *op. cit.*, 67-68.

³ Salazaro, *Cenni*, 58; Mario, *op. cit.*, II. 267.

have been a party to the decision of the ministry, now led the opposition, and proposed that in place of taking a plebiscite, a representative assembly should be summoned. Pallavicino strenuously resisted. An election would only prolong the crisis; if it were taken under Crispi's management, the Assembly might be hostile to annexation, and civil war would be the almost inevitable sequel. But Garibaldi declared for Crispi's proposals, and Pallavicino indignantly threatened to resign. Fortunately the public realized the gravity of the crisis. The Neapolitans demonstrated angrily for annexation, and Garibaldi, finding that he had an unanimous people against him, suddenly decided for Pallavicino and the plebiscite, and appealed to the country to forget political parties.¹

The plebiscite took place on October 21, and the poll was declared a fortnight later. The ballot seems to have been not really secret, and there was no opportunity given to vote for a separate kingdom without the Bourbons; but there was no open attempt at pressure, in Naples at all events there was perfect order, and the voting was heavy.² No intimidation, such as was charged to the Unitarians, could have produced the overwhelming majority. On the mainland 1,310,000 voted for annexation, and 10,000 against it; in Sicily 432,000 voted for it, and the opposition shrunk to a poor 600. In the city of Naples, where 106,000 voted, 31 made the total of the anti-annexationists. A few days later the plebiscites were held in the Marches and Umbria. In the former the vote for annexation was 133,000 to 1200, in the latter 97,500 to 380. Even the province of Viterbo, though reoccupied by the French troops, recorded its vote in their despute. A total of nearly two million votes, with a handful of twelve thousand against them, proved in the face of all cavillings, how universal at all events for the moment was the desire for Unity in South and Central Italy.

¹ Pallavicino, *op. cit.*, III. 609-627; Guerzoni, *op. cit.*, II. 217-222; Salazaro, *op. cit.*, 66-80; Crispi, *Scritti*, 329, 335; Un Italien, *Crispi*, 632-633; Turr, *op. cit.*, 22-24; Persano, *op. cit.*, IV. 19-25; Nisco, *Francesco II.*, 167-168.

² The percentage of population voting was 19.17 as against 23.25 in France in 1852, and 21.17 and 20.09 in Tuscany and Emilia respectively in the spring of 1860.

Meanwhile Cavour had been hurrying on the King's advance. It was not only the dangers of the position at Naples, that made him count every day. He dreaded an attack from Austria, and was tortured with anxiety to get the army back before she could fall on Lombardy. It was a terrible hazard, for though Bologna and Piacenza were strongly fortified, and Lombardy and Piedmont were prepared to rise in mass, the last French troops had left in June, and the slender Italian forces under La Marmora were bound to meet a great disaster. There seemed every probability that Austria would choose so favourable a moment for attack. Her desperate financial and domestic condition was likely to seek relief in war. She had indeed, despite all Antonelli's appeals, refused to interfere on behalf of the Pope. But the invasion of Umbria had drawn on Piedmont a fierce storm of indignation from the diplomatists. Russia had withdrawn its ambassador, Prussia had protested in strongest language. Even the Emperor, though he was secretly encouraging Cavour to go on,¹ officially threatened opposition, and withdrew his minister from Turin. England alone remained constant, but she was not likely to fight. Italy seemed utterly isolated, and Cavour was expecting from day to day to receive the Austrian ultimatum. Towards the end of October (October 27) he was so alarmed, that he urged the King and Fanti to return at once. Three days later he knew that Italy was safe. Again she owed her deliverance to Napoleon. He had won the Czar,² and made veiled threats to Austria, that if she entered Lombardy, she might find French troops in front of her. The English Cabinet probably used its influence at Berlin, and Francis Joseph, frightened by the French menace and dissuaded by Prussia and Russia, gave up the projected war.³ Meanwhile, with the awful cloud still hanging over his country, the King was marching South, taking Fanti as chief of his staff, and Farini as future governor of Naples.

¹ Cavour, *op. cit.*, VI. 601; for Cavour's discreditable fencing, see *Ib.*, VI. 595. See also VielCastel, *op. cit.*, V. 91.

² See below, p. 181 n.

³ Cavour, *op. cit.*, IV. 85; VI. 621-623; Bianchi, *Diplomazia*, VIII. 363-364.

In his fine enthusiasm for unity, he was prepared for any risk. He knew that if Austria attacked, it might cost him his crown; but better the republic, he thought, than the loss of the national ideal. "Leave Mazzini alone," he said, "if we make Italy, he is powerless; if we cannot, let him do it, and I will be *Monsù Savoia* and clap my hands for him." With the strange vein of religious feeling, that ran through his stained nature, he had convinced himself that he was "fulfilling a mission assigned by God, because it is willed by the people." He still disliked Cavour, and was perhaps half-fascinated by Garibaldi's designs on Rome. But jealousy of the dictator's popularity, irritation at his "impertinent" letter, a sense that Cavour was winning back for him the position he had nearly lost, had temporarily broken his regard for the great general. The reaction in favour of himself and his premier was already in full tide in the North and Centre. Castelfidardo and Ancona had recovered the prestige of the royal army, and Cavour's triumph in the Chamber showed how completely the effective public opinion of the North was with him.

The King crossed the Tronto and entered Neapolitan territory on October 15, the people everywhere acclaiming him their deliverer, and to his naive disgust thronging to kiss his hand. Even the clergy came in procession with their bishops at their head. The only exception was in the district round Isernia, where the loyalist peasants had risen in the name of the Bourbons, committing horrible atrocities on the Liberals and a small Garibaldian force, which had tried to repress the revolt. While Cialdini sternly put them down, the King advanced slowly through the Abruzzi and along the right bank of the Volturno to take the Bourbon army on the flank. Garibaldi's position was still far from safe;¹ but the regulars at Naples and 5000 men, who had been shipped from Genoa, were sent to the

¹ About this time there arrived a strong contingent of English volunteers to help Garibaldi. They got a bad name for disorderliness and pilfering, and nearly shot the King by accident: Arrivabene, *op. cit.*, II. 289; A. Mario, *The Red Shirt*, 280; Mario, *Garibaldi*, 652; Adamoli, *op. cit.*, 168; Revel, *op. cit.*, 70.

front, and as the forces with the King came up, the Bourbons lost their chance of successful attack. At Macerone Cialdini's van defeated a strong force of Bourbonist soldiers and armed peasants under Douglas Scotti (October 20). Next day he was threatening the Neapolitan rear at Venafrò, and Francis, in danger of being caught between the two armies, left 12,000 men in Capua and retired behind the Garigliano (October 27).

As soon as Garibaldi heard of the King's approach, he went to meet him. The force of events had done much to sober him. As early as October 15 he had decided to lay down the dictatorship when the King arrived. The resolution of parliament made resistance to the government mean war, and Garibaldi had ever a present horror of shedding civil blood. He had convinced himself that, apart from the advance of the royal army, the protracted resistance of the Bourbons made an advance on Rome impossible for the present, and, though he clung as tightly as ever to the idea, he saw that its realization must be postponed at all events till the spring. His loyalty to the King had never really wavered. He felt that his own policy was beaten, possibly the counsel of his saner friends had made him doubt whether it was altogether wise. He never appeared more noble, than when he, who had won half Italy, laid down his conquest at the King's feet, to be ruled by his enemy; and, for the moment forgetting his rancour, turned his face to the two fortresses, that had yet to be won for his country.

The famous meeting between King and Dictator took place at Teano (October 26). The brief, barely cordial salute between them was typical of the uncomfortableness and strain of the situation. The Piedmontese army despised the Garibaldians, laughed at their indiscipline, their ragged uniforms, the pretensions and extravagant number of their officers; they resented angrily the unfriendliness, which existed only too much among the volunteers, and which mischief-makers on their own side had exaggerated. Farini's circular had done the same harm among the Garibaldians; they thought that the Piedmontese had come to rob them

of their victory; many of them republicans and democrats, they saw with bitterness that South Italy was given up to Cavour's rule; and indignation waxed hot, when the petty slander of the Moderates spread the fiction that the Volturno had been won by royal troops. But the common patriotism was strong, and the presence of the enemy on the Garigliano prevented the bitterness from finding voice. The immediate business was to complete the discomfiture of the Bourbon army. Capua was invested and surrendered shortly after; and the main body of the Piedmontese under Cialdini advanced to attack the Bourbonists in their strong position on the Garigliano. Three times the Piedmontese were driven back, but the guns from the fleet disordered the Bourbonists, and on November 3 Cialdini won a footing on the right bank, compelling the enemy to fall back on Gaeta. Persano had been ordered to blockade the fortress, when Cavour suddenly learnt that the Emperor was sending his fleet to prevent it, and the blockade was hurriedly countermanded. But Cialdini occupied Mola di Gaeta after a sharp engagement, and on November 5 the siege of Gaeta began.

Everything was now ready for the King's entry into Naples. The plebiscite had been counted, and Victor Emmanuel was King of South Italy by the will of the people. On a stormy November morning (November 7) the King drove through Naples with Garibaldi at his side. The crowds, that waited in the drenching rain, gave him a good welcome; but the cheers were loudest for Garibaldi. The Dictator had been nursing his bitterness, since the King's orders had sent him to the rear at Capua. "Squeezed like an orange and thrown into a corner," he was very angry that Farini, Cavour's confidant and friend, was destined to be governor of Naples. The King had broken his promise to review the volunteers at Capua, and Garibaldi relieved his feelings by attacking the Pope as antichrist. Victor Emmanuel on his part was nettled when he found that his popularity was second to Garibaldi's. Fanti and the military influence was, in spite of Cavour's wiser advice, opposed to concession to the volunteers; Farini had been

sent to protect the King from Garibaldi's ascendancy, and performed his duty with only too much zeal. On the day of the entry into Naples Garibaldi, after presenting the record of the plebiscites and resigning the dictatorship, asked for decorations for his generals and rank in the royal army for all his officers. The King refused to give an immediate answer, and Garibaldi left him in wrath at the rebuff. In vain the King tried to win him with delusory munificence; Garibaldi refused his gifts, and demanded the King's protection for the volunteers, and for himself the lieutenancy of the Sicilies for a year with dictatorial powers. The King promised to preserve the volunteers on their present footing,¹ but refused any concession as to the lieutenancy, and after one more desperate attempt to get Cavour dismissed and be himself allowed to march on Rome, Garibaldi sailed for Caprera with a few hundred lire in his pocket and a bag of seed-beans for his farm.² In his farewell address to the volunteers he spoke of the King in loyalist of phrases, and appealed for harmony and union. But he was bitter as ever against Cavour; he was looking to the spring, when a million men would be in arms to win Rome and Venice to the fatherland.

Gaeta had still to be reduced, and now that the danger from Austria had passed for the time, Cialdini could sit down to the siege. Francis had shut himself in the strong fortress with 20,000 men. The disloyalty was still not at an end, but, after the desertion of a few troops at the beginning of the siege, the remainder proved loyal though not enthusiastic defenders. Francis, as his father before him, believed himself to be championing the cause of order, and his brave resistance won him the respect of Europe. None the less the Powers left him to his fate, and Francis found his only friend in Napoleon, who, moved by some ostenta-

¹ See below, p. 216.

² Castelli, *Ricordi*, 340-346; Revel, *op. cit.*, 79; Bianchi, *Politique de Cavour*, 386; *Riv. stor. del risorg.*, I. 547; Persano, *op. cit.*, IV. 123; Arrivabene, *op. cit.*, II. 302; Mundy, *op. cit.*, 283; Cavour, *Lettere*, IV. 35. It is almost impossible to reconcile the different accounts. I withdraw what I have said in my introduction to Mr. Okey's translation of Mazzini as to Cavour's treatment of Garibaldi.

tious chivalry and the Empress' influence,¹ put his veto on a blockade by sea. It was not till the beginning of January, that the Emperor yielded to the insistence of the English government and withdrew his fleet. Meanwhile Cialdini had been conducting the siege with leisurely deliberation, perhaps to spare his men for a possible struggle with Austria in the spring. Francis' generals defended the fortress with an equal want of energy; the city suffered heavily from the bombardment, typhus broke out, and Francis saw that his cause was a hopeless one. On February 13 he surrendered. The citadel of Messina capitulated a month later after a nine days' siege, and with the fall of the little mountain fortress of Civitella del Tronto in the Abruzzi (March 21) the Bourbon power was extinct.

¹ Further Correspondence 1860, VII. 132; Castelli, *Carteggio*, I. 335, 338-339; Id., *Ricordi*, 340; Cavour, *op. cit.*, VI. 633. Cavour thought that the Emperor's action was to conciliate Russia (see above, p. 176): Further Correspondence 1860, VII. 135; Thouvenel, *op. cit.*, I. 270-271; Cavour, *op. cit.*, VI. 615; Chiala, *Politica segreta*, 164.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE NEW KINGDOM

1860-61

The Kingdom of Italy. CONDITION OF NAPLES; Bourbonist reaction; the Garibaldians; Sicily; constitution or dictatorship?; La Farina in Sicily; Farini at Naples; Carignano and Nigra; BRIGANDAGE. PIEMONTE AND ITALY; the "regions"; Cavour postpones question. Venice.

THUS Italy was united, had become one of the great states of Europe. Though Austria still ruled in Venetia and the Trentino, and the Pope by the grace of his French protectors held Rome and the Comarca with the strip of coast from the Tuscan frontier to Terracina, the kingdom stretched 'from the Alps to Lilybœum,' and counted twenty-one millions of inhabitants. The united Italy, that had been the scoff of diplomatists, that Mazzini had preached to a believing few, that the great mass of nationalists had even lately thought of as a far-off possibility, had suddenly become a fact, a fact that even the apathetic multitude had hailed with delight, and that made the reactionaries and the autonomists forget their narrower ideals in the pride of being citizens of a great nation. In a brief eighteen months the great work had been accomplished; the errors of 1848 had been forgotten, the ten years' waiting had taught discipline and made Italy march together. There had been tension, at one time a very dangerous one, but the common-sense and patriotism of all parties had saved the cause from the faction-fight, which had wrecked it ten years before.

But the young nation was unformed. It had problems to face, which would task its wisdom and self-restraint more than all the work of emancipation had done. The divisions,

which had been kept under surface in front of the enemy, were certain to appear in the task of civil consolidation. Most importunate, if not most serious of its problems, was the question of the South. "To harmonize North and South," said Cavour, "is harder than fighting Austria or struggling with Rome." Naples and its provinces had two terrible scourges, great poverty and great corruption. Feudalism, long abolished in law, survived in practice, and the peasant of the Capitanata or Basilicata still worked at the *corvée* and sold his daughters to his landlord. His lord was his employer and creditor, and ground him with starvation wages and usurious interest; he had the local government in his hands and abused it to his private ends; he wasted or mismanaged or misappropriated the communal lands.¹ Agriculture was depressed by heavy taxes and the want of markets. There was need of roads and railways, of afforestation and public works to reclaim land from the mountain torrents or drain malarious swamps; need of legislation to emancipate common lands and the vast stretches of estates in demesne or mortmain, to reduce the twenty-one thousand monks and nuns, nine thousand of them mendicants, who produced little and consumed much. The towns were struck by the commercial distress that followed the revolution, perhaps by the sudden introduction of free trade in Francis' later days. Misery and beggary were rampant as ever in the capital, and the government was still, in pursuance of one of Bertani's decrees, spending 5000 lire a day in bread-doles for its demoralized poor. The endemic brigandage of the mountain districts² sprang into vigorous life. Where the peasants had a tolerable lot, brigandage took shallow root, but the miserable landless labourers of the poorer provinces left their homes by the hundred to find in the more enviable life of the *banditti* independence and food and revenge instead of work and hunger. It was

¹ See above, Vol. I., pp. 88, 93; and Bianco di Saint Jorioz, *Brigantaggio*, 13, 48, 54-59; Report of the Parliamentary Commission in Ghiron, *Annali*, I. 328; Franchetti, *Province napoletane*, 21, 37, 151, 157; Cordova, *Discorsi*, I. 120-129; Arrivabene, *Italy*, II. 326; Ulloa, *Presenti Condizioni*, 21-22; Villari, *Lettere meridionali*, 86-87.

² See above, Vol. I., p. 94.

the fierce turning of the downtrodden and brutalized, whose rallying-cry was "down with the gentlemen." Garibaldi had promised the peasants a partition of demesne land; and at all events work for the unemployed, the improvement of the peasant's lot, the revival of trade were the first needs of Naples. "Unify to improve, improve to consolidate," was Cavour's motto for the South, but he knew that ten years were needed to accomplish the heavy task.

But more dangerous than the material depression was the universal corruption, that followed the Bourbon rule as night follows day, and made thoughtful men in the rest of Italy dread lest it should prove contagious. The enthusiasm for the Revolution had often found its spring in hopes of getting office, and a crowd of pension and place-hunters of every class crowded the stairs and ante-chambers of each minister. The dreaded hand of the mysterious *camorra* reached everywhere. It was mainly a secret society of the criminal poor, but it had its associates high and low, and there were camorristi in black coats and white gloves as well as those in rags. Liborio Romano had left it installed in office; it was powerful in the police, in the national guard, in the local bodies; its momentary good behaviour soon disappeared, and it used its power to shelter and foment brigandage, at times to plunder and assassinate under the eyes of its affiliates in the police. Garibaldi's administration had filled the civil service with a mob of disaffected, turbulent rogues, who had no desire to see the government work smoothly, and used their new position to hound down their private enemies.¹ A crowd of adventurers had hurried to Naples, professing themselves volunteers; and the "false Garibaldians," who had never smelt powder, clamoured for pay, blackmailed partisans of the Bourbons, and leagued to upset every ministry that would not fill their maw. In the provinces all was confusion; the Bourbon corruption had long ago destroyed any trust in the honesty of government, and the men, who were feebly trying to make the law respected, found themselves paralyzed by the dead-

¹ De Cesare, *Scialoja*, 145; Bianco di Saint Jorioz, *op. cit.*, 23-24, 96; Della Rocca, *Autobiografia*, II. 122-123; see Bonghi, *Finanze*, 35, and above, p. 170.

weight of local apathy and suspicion. And sober and patient and amenable as was the great bulk of the rural population, the weakness of the government allowed it to be cowed into a silence that was interpreted as sympathy with the banditti.

It was a fair field for intrigue and discontent. The unanimity, that welcomed the fall of the Bourbons, quickly vanished. Much of it had been a momentary enthusiasm, much of it the hope of personal gain, much of it mere pretence. Francis' resistance at Gaeta encouraged the Bourbonists to raise their heads again. Most of the great proprietors in the Abruzzi and the Basilicata and Calabria were partisans of the fallen dynasty, and their feuds with the smaller gentry reappeared as a struggle between Bourbonists and Liberals. The mass of the clergy both in town and country were on their side. The poorer peasants found they had no longer a government, which connived at plunder and blackmail; and the crude communism of the jacquerie formed a monstrous alliance with the clerical and aristocratic reaction. Though brigandage sprang from social causes, it became a political tool in the hands of the agents from Gaeta and Rome, who egged on the "bands" to plunder and massacre and ravish in the cause of throne and altar. And to a certain extent Bourbonism became the expression of the suspicion of the rule of Piedmont, of the divergence between South and North; and the very districts, which had voted unanimously for annexation as the signal of the Bourbon downfall, now swelled the reaction, that the Bourbon cause inspired. Often the only sincere Liberals were the artisans of the towns; and the Liberals themselves had no great love for Piedmontese rule. The history and politics of Piedmont, which had been as a beacon to the rest of Italy, were almost unknown here. There had never been a strong enthusiasm for Unity on the Neapolitan mainland, and in Sicily, though the old Home Rule spirit was kept more or less in the background, it was too strong and recent to have disappeared. Both Sicily and Naples had wanted to be rid of the Bourbons, but now that the Bourbons had gone, the inevitable reaction came. The masses found the expected millennium as far away as ever, and the jangle

between progressive North and stationary South succeeded to the brief honeymoon.

The same feelings, that led to the revival of Bourbonism in the country districts, gave a dangerous strength to the democratic Garibaldians in the towns. The prosaic, unsympathetic Piedmontese had no fascination for Southern minds; their sober, grey-coated soldiery awoke no interest in a people, who had welcomed the picturesque red-shirted volunteers. The King had lost much of his prestige by secluding himself during his stay at Naples, and Garibaldi was still "the poor man's king," who had promised the peasants an agrarian law, and was believed by the *lazzaroni* to be descended from St. Januarius, predestined to bring them "liberty and macaroni." Every ruffian, who wanted pillage or pension, put on a red shirt, and called himself a Garibaldian. The crowd, who honoured Garibaldi's name from devotion or interest, were roused to angry resentment by the studied depreciation of their hero by Farini and La Farina, by an inane attempt to suppress Garibaldi's Hymn, by the fancied slights to the volunteer officers. In the discredit of Piedmontese rule even the Murat faction began to revive.

Sicily had never been corrupted like the mainland, but the poverty, the half-barbarian crime appeared in even stronger type. In the great estates of the wheat districts there was the same oppression of the peasant, the same usury, though here the tyrant was not the landlord, who was invariably an absentee, but the middleman. The peasants themselves were too crushed down to give trouble; but the *mafia* outstripped the *camorra* in its crime and lawless daring.¹ At Palermo the same mixed rabble as at Naples conspired to prevent things from settling down,—Bourbon employees, who had lost office, the incapable and dishonest nominees of Crispi and Mordini, who feared losing it, the 2000 volunteers, whom Garibaldi had left behind, the thieves and assassins, who had fought for the revolution and been disappointed of their booty. The civil service was disorganised, the treasury was plundered, food was dear, work-

¹ Villari, *op. cit.*, 21-37; see above, Vol. I., p. 98.

men were on strike, there was great distress among the poor. Public opinion was still in the main constant to the Cavourians, and the invincible hatred of the Bourbons made the rise of a serious reactionary party impossible. But the autonomists were clamouring for a regional system, which almost slid into Home Rule, and round the Garibaldians gathered an unscrupulous, noisy mob of disappointed "martyrs," whose self-interested patriotism had not found the recognition that it claimed.¹

It is questionable whether for a country, where corruption and disaffection were so strong, a temporary dictatorship would not have been the better rule. It was Garibaldi's constant and cherished ideal; and though his own ludicrous essay at government was responsible for much of the confusion, the absolute rule of a competent, sympathetic administrator, untrammelled by the distant, ill-informed interference from Turin, might, even after the bad start made by Crispi and Bertani, have done much to heal and lift up and consolidate. The governments of Naples and Sicily were still half independent of Turin, with their own ministries, and Lieutenants enjoying viceregal powers. But it needed a system, which would allow one man to organise without fear of interference, whether from central government or parliament. Farini had advised that Ricasoli should temporarily have sole power in Sicily, and though Ricasoli refused to go, he recommended a military dictatorship, while others urged it as even more necessary at Naples. But Cavour would have none of it; he feared that it would depreciate the country in the eyes of England and Europe; "struggle," he said, "is a necessity of constitutional government, and when there is no struggle, there is no life or progress." The King refused it unconditionally as contrary to his constitutional oath.

But whether there were dictatorship or not, everything depended on the choice of the Lieutenants. It was not easy to find men for so many difficult posts. "The Italian cause," Cavour foretold, "will eat up many men." He had sent as Lieutenant of Sicily, Montezomolo, a respected Liberal noble

¹ Ciotti, *Palermo*, 16-18.

of Piedmont, who in his earlier days had belonged to Young Italy. He was a figure-head, and Cordova and La Farina went to take over the administration from Mordini. Cordova was an honest courageous Sicilian, the ablest of the revolutionary leaders of the island in 1848, perhaps the best man next to Ricasoli, who could be found for the post. But to throw the gauntlet down to the Garibaldians by sending La Farina was another of the unfortunate personal selections that Cavour made at this time. The civil service and police, composed of Crispi's and Mordini's nominees, conspired to make the new administration impossible, and the Turin government left it without sufficient military force to impose its will. On the last day of the year the inevitable crisis came; and strong as the Cavourians still were outside the capital, the two Councillors had to fly from Palermo, and Cavour thought it prudent to recall them.

The difficulties of government in Sicily were light compared with those at Naples. No South Italian was available for the post of Lieutenant, and Ricasoli refused it as he had done for Sicily. Finally Cavour selected Farini, partly because his record at Modena marked him for a strong man, partly because he could rely on him to guard the King against Garibaldi's influence. A more unfortunate choice could not have been made. It was a gratuitous irritant to the Garibaldians; it sent a bourgeois to rule a proud and powerful aristocracy. Farini was reluctant to go, ill, suffering from the disease that finally killed him, and the southern climate completed the wreck of his health. The difficulties of his position would have tried the strongest man, and the King's presence added to them. The dual authority and Victor Emmanuel's rash promises brought down on his Lieutenant's head the blame for mistakes and harshnesses, of which others were the cause.¹ But his own fatuity is responsible for the continuous failure of his administration. He proved as weak as he had been strong at Modena; and the cowardice of the mass of the people, which might have been the strength of a strong government, was fatal to a weak one. Farini himself became more or less the tool of

¹ Revel, *Da Ancona*, 98.

the place-hunters; his position strangely intoxicated him, and an affected hauteur smothered his chance of success in ridicule. Bourbonists and Garibaldians and Murattists conspired to damage him, and disappointed democrats wrote to Turin, that Naples was lost, unless Farini was recalled. Cavour realized the mistake he had made, though at times he seems to have hoped that Farini would blunder into success, and knew that "peoples are not regenerated in a week." By degrees dissension rose between them, and when Farini talked of retiring, Cavour caught at the excuse, and appointed his successor (January 3, 1861).

He sent in Farini's place the Prince of Carignano, with the young diplomatist Nigra as his chief adviser, hoping that a royal prince might win the impressionable Neapolitans. Carignano had a thorny task. In some districts the brigands seemed irrepressible; Naples was crowded with pretended Garibaldians, hungry for spoil, with cannorrists struggling under the strong heel of Spaventa, the Minister of Police, with autonomists eager to discredit the Piedmontese government. It was perhaps to avoid the reproach of Piedmontism, perhaps from consciousness of their own inexperience, that Carignano and Nigra made Romano home minister; and the unscrupulous intriguer soon dominated the government, putting his own creatures into office, and encouraging the camorra, that Spaventa had half stamped out. But powerful as the camorra was, Naples was sound at core, and the outcry against the minister and his criminal following became so loud that he had to resign. After his departure the work of government was easier; Spaventa carried on the war with the camorra unmolested, and strangled with perhaps excessive severity an incipient plot of Bourbonist nobles; the national guard on the whole kept order in the capital, and mobilized national guards, sent from the North and Centre, supplied to some extent the lack of troops.

The immediate danger lay in the brigandage, which showed its head from time to time, finding an easy shelter in the great forests and mountains, where hardly a road ran. All through the winter it had overrun the hill country round Tagliacozzo in the Abruzzi, fed by Papalists across the fron-

tier, who made depots of arms in neighbouring monasteries, and busily recruited for the brigand bands at Rome,¹ indifferent if the men, whom they egged on, pillaged and massacred in the name of Pope and Bourbon. The savagery led to natural reprisals. Cialdini threatened to shoot every man taken with arms in his hands; Pinelli, the military historian, who was sent to hunt down the brigands, gave strong expression to the indignation, that every patriot felt at the Pope's unholy patronage of the banditti; his brother-general De Sonnaz, after driving back a large band into Papal territory, crossed the frontier and ransacked a store of arms in a border monastery. The fall of Civitella del Tronto brought the movement in the Abruzzi to an end, but as summer drew on, the plague broke out in more alarming proportions elsewhere. Francis was at Rome, busily organising the conspiracy, which took ex-convicts for its leaders, and made robbery and murder its weapons. He had committees in correspondence with him all through the South; the clergy, angry at the recent ecclesiastical reforms,² were eager to harass or upset the Italian government; disbanded soldiers enlisted with the banditti to escape the summons to join their colours. But wherever the authorities showed energy, the brigands disappeared. Though they invaded several towns and terrorized the inhabitants into acquiescence, they retired at the first approach of a few troops, and the national guards of the district completed their discomfiture. Had the government had more troops at its command, the movement would have made little headway; and sinister as the phenomenon was, it was of less serious moment than the apathy and ignorance and poverty, that made the regeneration of the South and its fusion with the North likely to be the task of many weary years.

The Neapolitan difficulty was only the most dangerous aspect of a problem, that touched every one of the annexed

¹ Bianco di Saint Jorioz, *op. cit.*, 30, 239-242, 249, 331; Ghiron, *op. cit.*, I. 373-376; Monnier, *Brigandage*, 111; BonCompagni, *Chiesa*, 71; Thouvenel, *Le secret*, II. 262; Ricasoli, *Lettere*, VI. 116.

² See below, p. 201.

states. The hegemony of Piedmont had been loyally accepted by the great mass of the nationalists. But the hegemony contained within itself hardly reconcilable theories of national growth. The nationalist movement in Piedmont had been a compromise between two very different schools. The old and narrower party, strong in the civil service and army, regarded Italy more or less as the artichoke of the historic proverb, to be won and governed and dominated by the Piedmontese; the idea of any metropolis but Turin was as repugnant to them as in 1848, and they reconciled themselves to the new great Italy by the hope that Piedmontese laws and Piedmontese ideas would be triumphant through the annexed provinces. The broader school, which the National Society had created, and which Cavour now led, knew that a little state with four millions of inhabitants could not claim everything in a kingdom of twenty-one millions, that Piedmont must more or less sink herself in Italy, that the laws and institutions of the other states must be treated with respect. To a certain extent the old school had its justification. It was, with few exceptions, the Piedmontese statesmen and the refugees trained in their school, who alone could organise a clean and capable administration. Charles Albert's Statute, as a collection of constitutional maxims, supplied a very fair foundation, on which to build up a code of law. But their views had their selfish and impossible side. The states, with their varying social conditions, their separate historic past, could not be forced into one mould. The codes of Piedmont were inferior in many respects to those of Lombardy or Tuscany or Parma or Naples. Its communal system could only be introduced with much heartburning and ill prospects of successful working into states like Tuscany or Lombardy, which boasted long traditions of vigorous municipal life. The Piedmontese bureaucracy, well trained and honest though it was, was unsympathetic and narrow and irritating, sometimes with an arrogance and pretentiousness, that overshadowed its real worth, and made it the butt of Lombard or Tuscan wit. A city in the extreme corner of Italy, with little historical or artistic association, could not be the permanent capital of

the peninsula; Milan and Florence, Naples and Palermo clung to their metropolitan honours and grudged to surrender them except to Rome.¹ There were angry cries that Piedmont was monopolizing government contracts, that hungry Piedmontese employees were thrusting themselves into fat posts, that trade and industry were flowing towards the seat of government, and leaving commercial stagnation behind in the less fortunate states.

It was facts and fears like these, that made men as diverse as Ricasoli and Crispi share a common opposition to the Piedmontese school, that made Pepoli declare in exaggerated phrase that the bureaucracy of Turin was one of Italy's greatest enemies. Rattazzi's premature application of modified Piedmontese laws into Lombardy was causing grave discontent there. Ricasoli had carried on an almost pedantic struggle to postpone their introduction into Tuscany and save a semi-independence of administration for his state.² He had obtained confirmation for the Tuscan law and the decrees of the Provisional Government; but Rattazzi's error had been repeated in Emilia and Umbria and the Marches, and was sowing the same crop of trouble there. It would have been wise to let much of the old legislation of each state live on untouched for the present, except where uniformity was absolutely needed, as in the army and electoral laws and customs' tariff. The country had been stupefied by a shower of new legislation, producing a formal unity that had no resemblance to the facts. Critics complained with justice that the sweeping changes had made a heap of ruins, which blocked any right building up of the new state. Now however the evil was done. The old laws had been roughly upset, and the best policy that remained was to pass some broad measure of local government, which would recognize a certain independence of administration, which would draw the boundary between concerns of central and local government in favour of the

¹ The population of Naples was 417,000, of Milan, 219,000, of Palermo, 186,000. The population of Turin advanced from 179,000 in 1858 to 204,000 in 1861.

² I am obliged to use this word, strictly inapplicable now, to avoid confusion with provinces in the technical sense.

latter. Cavour believed firmly in decentralization; already in July he had appointed a commission to draft a scheme of local government, and Farini, as Minister of the Interior, laid before it proposals, which perhaps Cavour himself had suggested. The essence of Farini's scheme was to form large local areas called "regions," intermediate between the province and the state. They were to be grouped round "the natural centres of Italian life," but their boundaries were not necessarily to correspond to those of the old states, lest they should encourage autonomist aspirations. They were to be administrative units only, and not even possess elective councils. So far indeed from their being made important units of local government, Farini proposed to base it more than ever on the provincial councils, which were to control main roads, rivers, public health, secondary and technical education, and the bigger charities.¹ In fact, the scheme left the conception of the regions very nebulous, and it was far from clear what powers Farini proposed to confer upon them.

So far the question had been mainly an academic one. The advocates of a strong and far-reaching state-action appealed for more centralization; the friends of *laissez-faire* upheld the regions, which would, they hoped, impede the activity and interference of the central government. The conquest of the South brought the question into practical political importance; and while it made the speculative decentralizers draw back, afraid of their own consequences, it created an eager popular demand for regional independence. The great disparity between North and South demanded that the latter should be treated with especial delicacy; to force on it a number of uncongenial laws was certain to provoke a reaction in favour of the old order, and it was the hope of minimizing the blunders of the government, that sometimes made warm friends of unity foremost in claiming local independence. In Sicily a committee, appointed by Garibaldi in the later days of the dictatorship, reported in favour of giving to the Lieutenant of each region viceregal powers, which would encroach seriously on the

¹ Farini's scheme in Cavour, *Lettere*, VI. 729; see Masserani, *Studios*, 460. Mazzini had advocated regions ten years before: *Opere*, VIII. 32.

functions of the central executive. On the mainland a "league of the interests of Naples" united federalists, republicans, Bourbonists in an endeavour to preserve the old institutions, and push the claims of Naples to be the capital. Few indeed here or elsewhere proposed any form of Home Rule, but a strong agitation grew up to develop Farini's proposals, to give each region its Lieutenant and Council, to exalt the region not only by transferring to it the more important powers of the provinces, but by making its finances and administration half independent of parliament and the central government.

It fell to Minghetti, as Minister of the Interior after Farini's appointment to Naples, to draft a new Bill. His proposals (November 1860) followed in the main the lines of his predecessor's scheme. They intended to reverse the French system by freeing both commune and province from any direct supervision by the officers of the government. The syndic was to be chosen by the communal council. The provincial councils were to be independent of the prefect, and keep practically the same extended powers as those proposed by Farini. The region took a more definite shape. It was to take over "powers usually reserved to the central authority"; regional councils, elected by the councils of the component provinces, would, in conjunction with the Governor, control higher education (including apparently the universities), national roads and larger public works, and have certain powers of legislation in respect of agriculture with the right to suggest new laws for the consideration of parliament. The Governor was almost a viceroy, he was to control the prefects, and represent the central government in many matters, and within the limits of his powers there was no appeal from his decisions.¹ But Minghetti followed Farini in not necessarily taking the old state boundaries, and he intended that the region should be experimental, perhaps have only a provisional existence long enough to allow a gentle transition from the old order to the new. The scheme was meant to

¹ Minghetti's speech of March 13, 1861; *Id.*, *At suoi elettori*, 7-9; Masserani, *op. cit.*, 461.

be a compromise, but it contented nobody. Its provisional character was obviously unsatisfactory. Men who had supported the regions from a hope that they would clip the powers of the bureaucracy began to fear that the new Bill would only substitute a number of petty oligarchies, inheriting the worst traditions of the old governments. The autonomists saw little value in proposals, which might divide Tuscany or merge Parma and Modena in Emilia. There was an uneasy feeling that despite Minghetti's safeguards regions might encroach on the traditional liberties of municipality and province. But the strongest opposition came from those, who feared that the region savoured too much of federalism, that it would be a dangerous stumbling-block to the consolidation of the kingdom. "Regionist" and "federalist" became synonymous terms of reproach. The rather shadowy powers of the regional councils could indeed hardly be a serious danger, but the councils themselves might easily become rallying points for autonomist agitation. And the semi-independence of the Governors, wise though it probably was, was thought to be full of peril at a time, when a strong central government seemed to many the one prime need. Even Ricasoli, despite his tenderness for Tuscan laws and institutions, thought that the regions contained the seeds of peril to the state. Cavour saw as early as December that Minghetti's scheme had no chance of acceptance, and was frightened by the outburst of autonomist feeling. He decided to abruptly retrace his steps, postpone the whole question of local government, and centralize. The administrative independence of Tuscany was taken away, despite Ricasoli's pleadings (February 14); a month later (March 20) Cavour limited that of Naples and Sicily, and carried out a long-projected design by dissolving the cabinet, and forming a new ministry of representatives of each of the old states. His policy now was to have one strong national government, in which Piedmont should have no larger share than was necessary, and silence charges of Torinese self-seeking by obtaining from parliament a resolution which recognized Rome as the future capital.¹

¹ Jacini, *Questione*, 17-18.

Meanwhile, beside the bottomless problem of Naples and the complicated settlement of the new kingdom, ran the unsatisfied aspirations for Venice and Rome, affecting the internal life of the nation at every step. For Venice, despite Garibaldi's determination to provoke an attack in the spring, it was generally recognized that Italy must wait. The unexpected resistance of Gaeta had put a strain on the military resources of the country. Garibaldi's disbanding of the Neapolitan troops and the fidelity of the remnant, that followed Francis, dispelled Cavour's hopes of doubling the Italian army by the incorporation of the Bourbon forces. The Neapolitan fleet had indeed been secured, but only some 3000 officers of the army and a very few of the rank-and-file took service under the national flag. About 4000 were all that were left of the Volunteers¹ "It will take two years," said Cavour in November, "to organise the army, and we must have peace till then," unless circumstances were too strong for him, he meant never to call in again the dangerous aid of France.² Much as a war with Austria might do to fuse North and South in a brotherhood of arms, he dared not risk it yet, and he pledged himself to prevent any irruption of irregular corps into Venetia. He hoped that the internal difficulties of Austria, the expense of keeping her army on a war footing, perhaps the growth of liberalism in the new Diet at Vienna would bring a peaceful solution. Another inspired pamphlet had been published by the inexhaustible La Guéronnière (December 14), advocating the sale of Venetia to Italy. The Emperor seems to have hoped that Austria would rid herself of the burdensome province, and buy Bosnia and Herzegovina with the price, but Austria would hear nothing of it, and Cavour had no liking for the project. Failing a peaceful solution, war must come some day, and he was already projecting an alliance with Prussia, and sending La Marmora to Berlin to greet the new King, and impress on the statesmen there that natural ties dictated friendship to Italy and Prussia. Despite

¹ See below, p 216

² Cavour, *op cit*, IV. 94; Chiala, *Politica segreta*, 155; Martin, *Prince Consort*, VI. 187; Salazaro, *Cenni*, 113.

official disavowals, he was encouraging the Hungarians to rise, and sending arms to Roumania, and when in May there seemed some prospect of an early Hungarian insurrection, he resolved in that event to throw prudence to the winds, and welcome French help, if the Emperor were dragged into a new war of liberation.¹

¹ Cavour, *op cit*, VI 709; Chiala, *op cit*, 176-178, Ricasoli, *op cit*, V 413; Guerzoni, *Bizio*, 300, 302, see Chiala, *Dina*, I 358.

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CHAPTER XXXIV

ITALY AND ROME

1860-61

ITALY AND ROME; anti-Catholic feeling; Cavour and the Temporal Power, the Catholic position; the Liberal clergy; THE "FREE CHURCH IN A FREE STATE"; negotiations with Rome; they break down; Napoleon III. intends to withdraw the French garrison. The elections; political parties; the government and the Volunteers; Garibaldi attacks Cavour. CAVOUR'S DEATH.

THIS however was a momentary fit of enthusiasm. Venice could wait, but every instinct of self-preservation urged the Italians to Rome. Papal territory now embraced the strip of coast between the Tuscan and Neapolitan shores, and inland for some twenty or thirty miles, including Viterbo, Tivoli, Velletri, and Frosinone. Even within this strip, which the Piedmontese troops had not entered, Viterbo proclaimed Victor Emmanuel's authority in the autumn, and Pepoli, as governor of Umbria, had occupied it, till the Emperor in spite of promises to England insisted on its remaining in Papal territory. Over this petty state the Pope still ruled, though it was recognized by everybody that his power could not survive for a week the withdrawal of the French garrison. It is true that the nationalists showed few signs of activity in Rome itself. But 5000 of their best men were in exile, the city was tight in the grip of the French and Papal garrisons, and even in spite of soldiers and police 10,000 adult males signed an address of adhesion to Cavour's policy.¹ In the surrounding towns the resent-

¹ Respecting the politics of the Romans, see Ghiron, *Annali*, I. 120-124; Further Correspondence 1860, VII 88-89; D'Haussonville, *Cavour*, 439; Dicey, *Rome*, 24; Grun, *L'Italie*, 97; Thouvenel, *Le secret*, II. 41; Un Romano, *Sulle quistioni urgenti*, 7.

ment was strong at being abandoned to the Pope, and if the French troops withdrew for a moment, they pulled down his arms. More and more, month by month, the Italians fixed their eyes on Rome. "Without Rome Italy is nothing," said Ricasoli, "for Venice we must wait, the day will come; for Rome we cannot wait;" and D'Azeglio's appeal to give up Rome and fix the capital at Florence found no response. When Parliament met in the spring it passed an unanimous resolution that Rome must be the capital. The glory of the eternal city, what Balbo had called "the importunate memory of her past greatness" lay strong on the Italian imagination. The belief in her perennial mission made Ricasoli and Mazzini declare in almost identical language that on her possession depended the moral future of Italy. The shame of the foreign occupation chafed and angered the nation, when the Papalists claimed that the Temporal Power was necessary for the independence of the Papacy, the Italians retorted that the possession of Rome was necessary for the independence of Italy. The inhumanity, that sacrificed the Romans to serve the supposed interests of Catholicism, was felt as an insult by the whole nation, and Italy was eager to free them, as Umbria and the Marches had been freed.

The feeling turned to exasperation, when the Pope allowed the Bourbon conspirators to make their headquarters at Rome, and organise the brigand bands under Papal protection.¹ It was intolerable that Rome should be a city of refuge for the men, who were spreading crime and confusion in the South, and the Pope's unctuous patronage of iniquity was digging a gulf between the Papacy and Italy, which could never be filled up, while the Temporal Power remained, a cancer to corrupt the life-blood of the nation. Religious indifferentism was spreading fast, especially among the middle classes and artisans;² "if Italy has to choose between nationality and Catholicism," it was threatened, "she will

¹ See above, p. 190.

² Bobone, *Lettera*, 31; Balan, *Continuazione*, II. 447-480; Un Romano, *op. cit.*, 56; Perfetti, *Ricordi*, 61; Arthur, *Italy*, 159; Bianco di Saint Jorioz, *Brigantaggio*, 143; for the same in 1863 see Balan, *op. cit.*, II. 494-498; in 1866, Ricasoli, *Lettere*, IX. 124.

choose the former." The strain was acuter even than last year between the priesthood and the Liberal laity, and the complaints of libels on the church, of anti-Papal plays, of irreverence and sacrilege showed how Antonelli was shaking the faith of a Catholic nation. Freemasonry carried on a steady, silent propaganda for free thought.¹ Protestantism gained some ground, especially at Florence;² and though there was small likelihood that it would gain any large permanent hold on the country, there was a very serious prospect of schism on Reformed Catholic lines, that would equally shake the power of the Papacy in Italy.³ But Cavour knew that the question went much deeper than a quarrel between Italy and the Roman court; that the Papacy was bound to take account of Catholic feeling in France, and Spain, and Belgium as well as in Italy; that Italy could not dissociate herself from the European polity in a matter that touched every Catholic nation. He shared to the full the aspirations for Rome. He had refused to listen to the suggestion of a provisional change of capital;⁴ he had told the Emperor that he would make no terms with the Papacy, that surrendered the claims of Italy to Rome. "Rome," he had said in parliament, "must become the noble capital of regenerated Italy."⁵ He saw all the danger to the country, that came from a power in her midst, which rested on foreign bayonets; he saw all the practical gain of winning the city, whose unchallenged metropolitan rights would still the nascent rivalries of Turin and Florence and Naples. But Rome could not be won by force, while the French garrison was there. Cavour realized, as the more impatient nationalists did not, how powerful and how hostile was the opinion of Catholic Europe,

¹ Tivaroni, *L'Italia*, III. 216.

² Arthur, *op. cit.*, *passim*, Wylie, *Italy*, *passim*; Bobone, *op. cit.*, 31; *Necessità di una riforma religiosa*.

³ Pantaleoni, *Idea italiana*, 163; Passaglia, *Per la causa*, 46; Ricasoli, *op. cit.*, V. 246; VI. 142; Masserani, *Tenca*, 323; Cavour, *Lettere*, IV. 54; Siotto-Pintor, *L'Italia*, 114; see below, p. 228.

⁴ Castelli, *Carteggio*, I. 521; Id., *Ricordi*, 164; BonCompagni, *Chiesa*, 92; Alfieri, *L'Italia liberale*, 85; see below, p. 262.

⁵ Speech of Oct. 11, 1860; see Cavour, *op. cit.*, IV. 129; Artom e Blanc, *Cavour*, xxx; Monnier, *L'Italie*, 419; Pantaleoni, *op. cit.*, 48; *contra*, D'Haussonville, *op. cit.*, 439; Cantù, *Cronistoria*, III. 563.

that in France the Emperor could barely stand against it, that, if he lost his feet, the storm of Catholic hatred would be loosed on the new kingdom.

Recent events had exasperated the Papalists more than ever against both Piedmont and the Emperor. The invasion of Umbria, La Moricière's defeat, the alarm at Rome, Napoleon's double game, the desertion of the Catholic governments had spread consternation and fierce anger in the Catholic world. As each province was added to the kingdom, it had its anti-clerical laws, often more drastic than those of Piedmont. Provincial councils had been given a limited discretionary power to decide what parts of the catechism should be taught in the schools (October 1860). Pepoli, as governor of Umbria and Valerio in the Marches, acting of course under instructions from Turin, had suppressed the monasteries on lines that perhaps brought real hardship to the inmates, had legalized civil marriage (though the religious rite was still necessary), had appropriated the property of the Jesuits to found elementary schools, had taken from the bishops their ecclesiastical courts and rights of supervision over education and charities. Garibaldi had nationalized the property of the Jesuits and threatened that of Cathedral chapters in Naples and Sicily, and in February Mancini, Carignano's minister of worship, abolished the concordat of 1818, dissolved the Neapolitan monasteries (though on milder lines than Pepoli's), and took from the bishops their control of charities. Ricasoli had long been besieging the government for leave to nationalize church property in Tuscany, sell church lands, and invest the proceeds for the equalization of clerical incomes. Bishops, exiled for hostility to the government, were eating their souls in bitterness at Rome, while their properties were sequestered by the Italian authorities. Here and there sacrilege had been committed by the soldiery or the emancipated populace. The clericals asserted, though there is no evidence to prove it,¹ that immorality had grown in the freed provinces, and good feeble men, who preferred

¹ See e.g. O'Reilly, *Leo XIII*, 221, where the Umbrian clergy speak of the "licentiousness of the theatre and the press," but can charge no immoral conduct. See below, p. 305.

the certainty of weakness to the possibility of corruption, lamented the evil works of liberty. The clerical outcry was loud. Now that the Papalist Volunteers had failed, their only hope lay in stirring Catholic opinion throughout Europe to a pitch, that would compel the governments to intervene. Beckx, the General of the Jesuits, protested in the European press. Montalembert voiced the anger of the French Catholics: "Piedmont dares everything, France allows it, Italy accepts it, Europe submits to it."

The fear of losing the last remnants of the Temporal Power touched them even more vitally than the anti-clerical legislation of the new kingdom. The recent history of Piedmont, they urged, belied her protestations of care for the Pope's spiritual authority. "Those, who are trying to destroy the Temporal Power," said the Pope, "have for their object the entire overthrow of our holy religion." There was a section indeed of less bigoted Cardinals, who saw that compromise was necessary; and a "Congregation," appointed to consider the theology of the question, had decided that the Pope might renounce his temporal dominion, if the interests of the church demanded the surrender.¹ But they were a handful among the worldly-minded men, who took their stand on "partisanship of old abuses, old rights, old principles, that recked little of the interests of religion or even of Papal government." It was a policy of suicide, that allied itself more or less to the fallen dynasties in Italy and France, in Spain and Portugal, that regarded "modern society" as the accursed thing, with which the church must always be at enmity, that was still hoping to win back Romagna, and trusting that revolution or reaction might break up the new kingdom. Had the Papacy been able to discern spirits, it would have recognized what was noble and religious in the national movement and helped to build up a god-fearing nation. But it preferred to plunge into a sad and profitless struggle, whose issues, save perhaps in far-off results, could be evil only. On the one hand was the young nation, rejoicing in its strength, proud of its achievements and its destiny; sometimes eager to throttle the enemy,

¹ Pantaleoni, *op. cit.*, 51, 100.

that lay between it and its attainment, glad, when it could not slay, to worry and exasperate; sometimes yearning for reconciliation with the power, whose influence reached to every Italian household, whose dim traditional glory cast its spell even on those who loathed it. On the other hand stood this power, with all its mighty strength for good or evil, with its mingled worldliness and timid goodness, forgetful of its mission, piteously, so piteously, blind to what was passing round it, clinging to its poor rag of earthly dominion, while it vented its screeds of impotent passion, and forgot bare morality in lust of revenge.

To the national claim of Italy the Papalists opposed the Catholic claim to the Temporal Power. The extremers of them found their arguments in theology; to them the Temporal Power was "a sacred thing, like aught else that is dedicated to God and the church;" all the church's organisation and possessions shared in the sanction that its divine origin gave, a sanction that therefore overrode any right derived from human law; the Temporal Power, if not actually a dogma, was near akin to one, and the same divine constitution, that forbade its surrender, forbade reform or religious toleration within the Pope's dominions.¹ But the wiser apologists saw that it was impossible for a church, which had shaped itself to political changes in every other country, to take its stand on *a priori* principles. Even the Jesuits acknowledged that the Temporal Power was not a dogma; it is not, said Passaglia, while still its champion, an ecclesiastical patrimony for the sole benefit of the church.² They defended it less on rights of possession or theological sanction than on arguments of practical utility. They repeated Bossuet's dictum that the Temporal Power was necessary that the Pope "may exercise his spiritual power throughout the universe in more liberty and security and peace." It was all-essential that the Pope's words and acts should be above suspicion of pressure from any government, that his election should be absolutely

¹ Mura, *Il Clero*, 101-102, 142; Id., *Questione romana*, 57, 86. See Liverani, *Il Papato*, 135.

² Passaglia, *Dialoghi*, 104-111, so Liverani, *op. cit.*, 150; and Cardinal Pecci (Leo XIII.) in O'Reilly, *op. cit.*, 200-201.

free, that there should be no danger that a hostile government at Rome might impede his free communication with the church. Ignoring how restricted even now was the Pope's independence, how much the Papacy was still the puppet of the Catholic Powers, they argued that a lay government at Rome must necessarily encroach on the Pope's spiritual liberty, that it would destroy his international position and involve him in the foreign entanglements of the Italian kingdom. Many of them recognized that to the populations, whom the Pope governed, the Temporal Power meant the denial of any free and progressive life, but with an inhumanity as great as that of the stranger, who would rather have Rome picturesque than healthy or moral, they held that an institution of Catholic right overrode the special interests of three millions, and the Romans were cynically bidden find their consolation in "contemplation and the arts, the cult of ruins and prayer."¹

The argument was a weighty one in Catholic eyes, but it was met from within the church itself. There had long been voices among the Catholic clergy, to plead for the reconciliation of the church and liberalism. Lamennais and Montalembert in France, Rosmini and Ventura and Gioberti in Italy had preached reform and recognition of modern progress, and their disciples were not a few both in the clergy and the laity.² The Jansenist school of Piedmont, the old Ambrogian independence of Milan still had their influence. The recent national movement had found its friends among the clergy everywhere. The, rising in Sicily and Calabria and even at Naples had been largely a religious movement, led by priests who inherited the Southern tradition of opposition to Rome. Grief at the mad folly of the Roman court, a sense of its danger to the church, anxiety to heal the widening breach with the laity enlisted a large proportion of the clergy in the cause of compromise. How widespread the movement was, was hardly recognized as yet,

¹ See e.g. Dupanloup, *Souveraineté*, 38 et seq., 75; O'Reilly, *op cit*, 202-205; Passaglia, *Dialoghi*, 10, 99; Mura, *Il Clero*, 96; Wiseman, *Pastoral Letter*, 24-30, who however seems to recognize the injustice of sacrificing the inhabitants.

² See above, Vol. I. p. 396; Vol. II. pp. 125, 129.

but even in Rome itself fifty of the clergy had signed the address to Cavour. To a large extent it was a movement of the lower clergy against the higher, a revolt of the half-starved parish priest against the wealthy and luxurious prelate, which sought the support of the Catholic laity against the despotism of bishop and Pope.¹ They attacked in unsparing language the folly of the excommunication, the cruelty that said to the Romans "it is a dogma or nearly one that you must be a miserable people," the unchristian fury of the bishops, that refused to make for peace and imperilled the unity of the church, that, while the whole nation was rejoicing, spent itself in selfish and sterile lamentation. The bishops, the reformers said, can only curse, they have lost the power to bless, and while the Italians are holding out their arms for reconciliation, the Papal court and its abettors spurn each overture for peace.² They attacked the apologists of the Temporal Power in their stronghold of dogma and tradition. Their leader was the Jesuit Passaglia, "an ultramontane theologian, most tender of the Pope's universal supremacy," who had helped to formulate the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, and whose erudition and devout adherence to the tradition of the church gave his writings special point in Catholic ears. Gradually, despite himself, driven into the reforming camp,³ he and his followers appealed to the Fathers and the Canonists to prove that the alleged necessity of the Temporal Power was opposed to the experience and doctrine of the earlier centuries of the church, that the Temporal Power had been violated again and again without hurt to the Pope's spiritual authority, that his oath not to surrender it had originated in a desire to guard against nepotism, and must yield to the safety of the church. They showed that it had been the church's custom to recognize *de facto* governments, that to excommunicate without gravest cause or include the multitude in spiritual

¹ *Petizione di novemila sacerdoti*; Passaglia, *Per la causa*, 30-32; Pantaleoni, *op. cit.*, 64-65

² Passaglia, *op. cit.*, 30-46 *et alibi*, Liverani, *op. cit.*, 14, 156; Bobone, *op. cit.*, 15-21; Curci, *Memorie*, 250-251.

³ The *Dialoghi* represent his transitional period, when he was still defending the Temporal Power, but pleading for reform in the Papal States

penalties had been condemned by the masters of Catholic tradition. The bishops, they complained, have raised an opinion to a dogma, they have closed their ears to reason, and betrayed the interests of the church by refusing the proffered freedom, which is worth more to it than all the Pope's temporal possessions. A good Pope, said Passaglia, will always be free, and the liberty of the Papacy is better served by the imitation of Christ than by the Temporal Power.

The bulk of their writings did not appear till a few months later, when the action of the Italian government had given them courage to speak. But they were already making their influence felt, and it was on their cooperation that Cavour mainly relied in his hopes to go to Rome with the consent of the Catholic world.¹ "The Roman question," he had told the Chamber in November, "cannot be solved by the sword, only moral forces can overcome moral obstacles." The sting would be taken out of the Catholic attack, if it could be shown that the abolition of the Temporal Power was compatible with a greater spiritual independence than any that the Papacy had known in modern times; and the earnest of Italy's intentions would be an offer of the widest liberties to the church. It seemed an extravagant hope that Rome could be weaned from her hostility, but Cavour threw himself into it with all the intensity of his nature. At first he viewed the religious question with political eyes; but gradually, as his great conception more and more possessed him, the religious reformer obscured the politician. To realize "a free church in a free state," "to sign a new peace of religion from the Capitol" with all its far-reaching issues for mankind, was a glorious aim, beside which the mere winning of Rome to Italy sank into the shade. He would reconcile the Pope to civilization, he would give the church fresh youth, when it had tasted the fruits of liberty; and the uprise of Italian nationality would not be barren of results to the world.² Nothing shows more the mental grasp of the great statesman, than that at a time of such tension

¹ Jacini, *Questione*, 25, see Pontaleoni, *op. cit.*, 42.

² Artom e Blanc, *op. cit.*, xxvii-xxxii, Cavour, *op. cit.*, IV. 144, 155; Castell, *Ricordi*, 123; Tavallini, *Lanza*, I. 257-262.

and anxiety, with all the problems of the new kingdom thrust upon him, he boldly launched a scheme, which would revolutionize the relations of church and state. His daring conception was no less than an absolute reversal of the maxims which had guided the governments of Catholic Europe. It had been their policy from medieval times to bind the church with concordats and laws, which limited the Pope's authority, which made the clergy more or less dependant on the government, which gave the Catholic profession the dignity and emoluments of a state church, but made it pay dearly by the surrender of its liberty. A century ago the long struggle between church and state had culminated in the discomfiture of the former, when Joseph II. in Austria, Leopold in Tuscany, Tannucci at Naples had coerced the Papacy into concordats, which made the church a handmaid of the state. And though French experience in the present century had shown how hard it was for the state to curb a disciplined and hostile church, the safeguards of the concordats were not entirely illusory. All this Cavour proposed to sweep away, if the Papacy would surrender its Temporal Power. It was no new principle to him. He had always fearlessly applied his theories of liberty to the church,¹ and though more recently he seems to have thought that the church could only be gradually freed in a land, where Catholicism was the only creed and the habits of liberty were shallow-rooted, he now threw doubt to the winds. The church of course could not have privileges inconsistent with free government. The state would recognize civil marriage, there would be equality of law for laymen and clergy, the suppressed monasteries would not be restored, and the clergy would have no control over the state schools and universities. But, subject to the general law of the land, the church would be absolutely free in the enjoyment and control of its property, and the state would guarantee it a certain income. The Pope might exercise canonic discipline without let, provided he did not call in the aid of the civil arm, might hold synods, and correspond with the bishops. The clergy might preach and teach what they pleased in their own

¹ See above, Vol. I., p. 398.

schools and seminaries. The state would surrender its right to nominate bishops, who in future would be elected by the clergy of the diocese. The Pope would retain the nominal title of sovereign, with ample endowment for himself and his court. The Conclave would be absolutely free from governmental influence.¹

Cavour knew that his proposal would be unpopular at first; that, though a few voices had pleaded for it since Charles Albert's days, it was too sudden a reversal of policy to be easily accepted, that there would be strong prejudices against it in the universities, in parliament, in the civil service, among men who thought that a free church in a free state was "a church free to attack the free state." Especially in Piedmont and Naples and Sicily public opinion was likely to oppose any surrender of the positions, that had been won from Rome. But he was sanguine that he could convert the lay opposers. "In the next generation," he said, "the separation of church and state will be an accomplished fact, accepted by all parties," and his own faith proved contagious. With great rapidity large sections of the laity, captured by the brilliancy of his scheme, silenced their doubts and came over to his platform. The Liberal clergy declared that it opened a new era to the church, and that the promised freedom was cheaply purchased by the loss of the Temporal Power. It is almost certain that Cavour's prestige and the merits of his scheme would have won parliament and people.

He had already embarked on his attempt to win the Papal court.² Communicating his plans to Minghetti alone in the cabinet, he entrusted Passaglia and a Roman doctor, Pantaleoni, with an unofficial mission to the more liberal Cardinals. Two of these, Santucci and D'Andrea, threw themselves warmly into the project, and others were friendly, but the majority of the Curia were still looking for help to Austria or Gaeta. At last (January 13) Santucci laid the

¹ Bianchi, *Diplomazia*, VIII 412, 415-419, 428-433.

² Isaia, *Negoziato*, Pantaleoni, *op cit*, Aguglia, *Questione romana*, Bianchi, *op cit*, VIII 411-441; Cavour, *op cit*, IV. 149, 167, 171, 179, 206; Thouvenel, *op cit*, I. 393, 463, II 2, 4, 7; D'Azeglio e Pantaleoni, *Can tegguo*, 432-433.

scheme before Antonelli and the Pope. Pius apparently resigned himself to accept it, and Antonelli, after a last effort to persuade Austria to attack Piedmont, expressed himself in its favour. Cavour at once made direct overtures to him, and baited the proposals well. There is strong evidence that Antonelli was offered and did not refuse a mighty bribe.¹ The cardinals were to have the privileges of royal princes and seats in the Senate. Perhaps Cavour salved the Pope's conscience by offering him the suzerainty of all his former possessions, thus saving his oath to alienate no territory of the Holy See. At all events Antonelli agreed to Cavour's bases, nine cardinals had been won, perhaps frightened by the threats of schism; the Pope wavered from day to day, but at times at all events resigned himself to the unpalatable necessity. Gaeta had fallen, and Austrian help seemed remote. Antonelli was eager to be rid of the French garrison, perhaps had some dim feeling of Italian patriotism, and the Consistory might be won by the temptation of winning liberty for the church and the hope that the example of Italy would be followed by other states. The negotiations seem to have arrived at a very forward stage. But a hitch suddenly occurred, and Cavour had to experience again the "inexhaustible ruses of Roman diplomacy." It is impossible to say whether Antonelli was ever serious in his negotiations, and perhaps he had all through been playing a double game. At all events towards the end of February he suddenly broke them off. According to one version the secret oozed out prematurely, and he became convinced of the hopelessness of winning the Pope and Consistory, according to another and less probable account the Pope was the readier to accept, and sadly gave up the scheme of reconciliation, when Antonelli objected his Papal oath.² It is certain that early in March Antonelli was in

¹ Bianchi, *op cit*, VIII 434, see Cavour, *op cit*, IV. 171, 173. Antonelli denied it *in toto*, but even the clericalist Balan (*op cit*, II 325) apparently gives no credit to his disclaimer. Pantaleoni (*op cit*, 80) thought that Antonelli was only playing with the bribe; but if so, it was his obvious policy to publish the facts and discredit Cavour.

² Isaia, *op cit*, 29-34; Thouvenel, *op. cit*, II. 7; Pantaleoni, *op. cit*. 86. Gramont knew of the negotiations as early as February 7 Thouvenel, *op cit*, I 393.

treaty with the Spanish court for an intervention of the Catholic Powers; the Jesuits were working hard to prejudice the Pope against compromise; and though at Santucci's petition Cavour had hurried on matters and given his agents their credentials to negotiate formally, all hope of success had gone. Antonelli took the lead of the opposition, and the expulsion of Pantaleoni from Rome (March 21) closed one of the most curious chapters in modern history.

It is probably too early yet to dogmatize as to what would have been the result to Italy, if Cavour's scheme had been accepted. There can be little doubt that it would have been loyally observed by the government. The Papalists indeed urged with some colour of reason that there was no guarantee that the Italians would maintain their promises, that even if the intentions of the government were genuine, its hands might at any time be forced by the extreme party. But the militant anti-clericals would have been powerless under a system, which would have reconciled Rome to Italy and brought the Catholic party into parliamentary life. Even the Law of Guarantees,¹ though administered by a parliament from which the Papalists have abstained, has been kept strictly in the letter, and if it has been broken in the spirit, it has been for sheer self-preservation from the church's unscrupulous hostility. Cavour's scheme promised advantages, which are absent from the Law of 1871. The latter was a one-sided contract, in which the state gave much, but had nothing in return. The former pledged the church to give the state its friendship, and in some directions both would have greatly gained. The power of the church would have vastly increased, as it won the neutrality or friendliness of the men, most of them the strongest of the country, whom the Pope was now driving into open hostility. And though the influence of the clergy among the peasants and the superstitious and uneducated populations of the South might have become more mischievous, it would have saved Italy much of the later friction between Vatican and Quirinal, it would have added to the stability of the state by making the strict Catholic population take

¹ See below, p. 380.

an effective part in politics. And even had the reactionary clerical party become strong in parliament, as doubtless it would have become, that would at all events have been better than the apathy and aloofness, which has allowed charlatanry to thrive. It is more doubtful whether either Cavour's scheme or the Law of Guarantees stands for the moral vitality of the nation, whether it was good that the state should alienate its right to force reforms upon the church. Cavour had a robust faith in the vitalising properties of freedom; but the religious as well as the civil interests of the country were probably best served, when the power of the bishops and the Roman court were reduced to a minimum. An endowed "free church" under discipline of Catholic strictness may mean that the laity and lower clergy may find themselves under a hard despotism of the episcopate, and that the church may be stereotyped in its worst abuses. Italy is suffering in soul and body from the moral distraction, which must come to a country where there is only one religious profession, and that one in deadly hostility to the state, and that this is her case, she probably owes in part to the Law of Guarantees.¹

Cavour's enthusiasm had obscured his estimate of success, and even Pantaleoni's expulsion did not destroy his faith that a solution would come soon. He could not believe that Rome would sacrifice her highest interests for temporal dominion or lust of revenge. A few days later he told parliament that Rome must be the capital of Italy, and publicly launched his policy of the "free church." The Chamber enthusiastically and almost unanimously passed a resolution in its favour (March 27), but Cavour at last saw that its realization was for the moment impossible, and he turned to another less perfect but more feasible solution. It seemed as if the Emperor had at last made up his mind to withdraw his troops from Rome. In spite of his official

¹ I have avoided the words "disestablishment of the church," because, though technically the same as Cavour's scheme, practically the absence of other religious bodies in Italy and the exceptional position of Rome makes the latter very different from disestablishment schemes in England.

displeasure at the invasion of Umbria, he had let it be understood that he was more angry with the Pope than with Piedmont.¹ Though he had insisted on Viterbo returning to the Pope, he had allowed the Italians to keep Orvieto. He would have rejoiced if the Pope had released him from his dilemma by flight.² Failing such happy accident, he probably thought it the lesser danger to break altogether with the clericals. He complained that Rome had become the refuge of his enemies, and his confidant Pietri branded it "a Catholic and Legitimist Coblentz." Prince Napoleon had coupled the evacuation of Rome and the Unity of Italy with the principles of 1789 as the goal of the Imperial policy, and though the Emperor's fears of free government were ever pulling him back, he had given some semblance of power to the French Chamber, and began to bid for Liberal support. He threatened the French bishops and suppressed the associations founded to collect money for the Pope. Pius was unteachable, and the Emperor, weary of the whole business, prescient of the greater troubles in store, irritated by the folly of the Papal court, was anxious to escape from Rome, if by any means he could do it without offending Catholic feeling overmuch or seeming to lower the flag of France to Italy. About the middle of April he let Cavour know that he would evacuate, on the condition that the Italian government would guarantee the Pope's present territory from attack. The Pope might maintain an army, but if after a few months' interval the Romans overthrew his government and annexed themselves to Italy by plebiscite, Victor Emmanuel might go to Rome, but it must be at the invitation of the inhabitants and not by conquest.³ It was a poor policy in the abstract to make the Romans masters of the fate of Rome. The Romans had a right to good government, but the Catholic argument had this much truth in it, that while both Italy and the Catholic world were supremely interested in the destiny of Rome,

¹ Cavour, *Lettere*, IV. 37; VI. 615. See Castelli, *Carteggio*, I. 339, 343.

² VielCastel, *Mémoires*, V. 94

³ Cavour, *op. cit.*, IV. 212-216; VI. 701-704; *Affaires étrangères* 1861, 5; Thouvenel, *op. cit.*, II. 69, 97, 113; Ricasoli, *Lettere*, VII. 164-165, 238; Pantaleoni, *op. cit.*, 99, Bonfadini, *Arese*, 276.

that destiny could not depend on the vote of the 700,000 people, who made up the total of the Pope's subjects. It was known however, that, if the Romans rebelled, they would vote for annexation; and to the Emperor it was a convenient means of escaping responsibility by an appeal to the gospel of plebiscites. Cavour perhaps did not stop to consider how small were the chances of a successful rising at Rome, perhaps he hoped that some subterfuge might evade the clear meaning of the treaty, and saw that it was intended to give the Italians a pretext to go to Rome ere long. But at all events he recognized how unpopular any adhesion to the scheme would be; parliament and public opinion would be quick to condemn a pact, which seemed to make Italy the guardian of the Temporal Power, and the Garibaldians would make every effort to break through it. But it was better, he thought, to face the unpopularity, than forfeit the French alliance by rejecting the Emperor's proposals. The King and Minghetti, and, with much reluctance, Ricasoli agreed to support him, and Cavour undertook to sign the treaty, if the Emperor would officially recognize the kingdom, and use his influence to make the Pope renew the interrupted negotiations. Before May 10 it had been decided at Paris to evacuate at the end of June, and Cavour was confident that the Italians would have Rome in "two years at latest."¹

But again as a year before, the hopes of gaining Rome were dashed at the moment when attainment seemed certain. Cavour, beset by all the problems that fronted the young kingdom, was eager to have the support of parliament. "I always feel strongest when parliament is sitting," he said, and he hoped that its meeting would heal faction and help to settle the country. The Chamber opened (February 18) with the same enthusiasm and pride, that had marked the parliament of half-completed Unity a year ago. The ministerial majority was unbroken, the clericals were hardly represented, only some 80 Garibaldians, as the members of

¹ Cavour, *op. cit.*, IV. 231; VI. 708; Ghiron, *Annali*, II 70; Castelli, *op. cit.*, I. 359.

the Extreme Left were now called, were returned in a Chamber of 443. Lombardy and Tuscany, Umbria and the Marches, partly no doubt owing to the use of the government's influence, sent an almost unbroken ministerial phalanx. The new Moderates, who formed it, had marched far from their political ancestry, the Right Centre of the Piedmontese Chamber. Gathered from many sources,—members of the Piedmontese Centre, converted republicans and Garibaldians, monarchical constitutionalists from the new provinces, they represented the men who had carried out Cavour's policy in the last two years, who had saved Central Italy, who had followed in the wake of the Garibaldians in Naples and Sicily and won the South for the monarchy. The timid hopes of the Moderates of the '50s had given place to a fervid belief in Italy; they were no less determined than the Garibaldians to go to Rome and Venice, but they were cautious men, who wanted to be sure of victory before they measured their strength with Austria, and hoped to win Rome without earning the ill-will of every Catholic Power. Their defect lay in their timidity, so long as they had Cavour to inspire them and lead them on, they would go far, but when his hand was removed, enthusiasm gave way to prudence, and great hopes to calculation of the cost, and masterful advance to feeble waiting upon time.

But theoretically at all events their policy was sounder than that of the Garibaldians. The Left afforded a shelter to politicians of every hue—democrats, federalists, Bourbonists,—whose one bond was opposition to the government. But the purely Garibaldian section, sent mainly from Naples, formed a tolerably compact body, strong in the prestige it had won in 1860, stronger in representing the popular impatience for Rome and Venice. Heedless of military and diplomatic difficulties, they refused to temporise or compromise. They believed it easy to repeat the happy accident of Garibaldi's Sicilian campaign, and wanted to send volunteers to prepare the way in Venetia and the Agro Romano. If the government declined to move, they claimed the right to act themselves, and repeat the dualism, which had nearly proved so fatal in the previous autumn. But dangerous as

they were in the country, as a parliamentary party they could be neglected. "They do us far less harm than the Right," said Cavour, "they stimulate us and prevent us from going to sleep." The only rock ahead for the government lay in the possible formation of a Centre opposition collecting round Rattazzi. There was still considerable strain between him and Cavour, for which both were probably to blame; and in the absence of effective party discipline, with so many deputies only too untrained and inexperienced, there was scope for his unscrupulous parliamentary adroitness, which held out one hand to the narrow Piedmontese school, the other to the Garibaldians. His close relations with the King gave him a vantage at the start. There was already a small Centre party, "the party of impotent pretensions and ruined reputations," which was anxious not to merge itself in the ministerialist ranks. There were the remnants of the old Left, who differed little in policy from the ministerialists, but retained the tradition of a purely partisan opposition. From these heterogeneous elements was gradually evolved a "Third Party," not strong numerically, and without any principle of cohesion, but individually powerful, and supported by the large section of public opinion, which, as it grew impatient at the delay in settling the country, clamoured less for new measures than new men.

But it was very difficult to shake Cavour's position. He had declared so frankly for the broader school of nationalists, for the aspirations for Rome, for placing the new provinces on an equality with Piedmont, that he had the great mass of Liberals behind him. And though, when the ministry was dissolved in March,¹ the King hoped for a moment to get rid of him, he found no encouragement, and the incident passed unsuspected by the country or by Cavour himself.² It was not easy however to make things march in the Chamber. Though the Piedmontese deputies naturally took the lead, the want of practical knowledge on the part of the new members made them waste their time in

¹ See above, p. 195.

² Ricasoli, *op. cit.*, V. 404; Mme. Rattazzi, *Rattazzi*, I. 562; Pantaleoni *op. cit.*, 205; Cavour, *op. cit.*, IV. 197.

trifles and pedantries. It was their want of any sense of proportion that brought the question of the volunteers into a prominence altogether beyond its merits. The King had made rash promises to them at Naples, which Fanti and his brother generals had considered insulting to the army, inasmuch as they gave rank to a host of improvised and inexperienced officers. Cavour objected to the part of the King's scheme, which put the "Southern army" on a semi-independent footing, and the pressure of the ministry and the army-party together compelled the King to give way. Practically the whole of the volunteer rank-and-file took advantage of the offer, which sent them home with three or six months' pay; half of the 7000 officers came before a commission, which examined their claims to rank in the regular army, and they seem to have been fairly treated, till on April 11 an order of the government apparently put them on the retired list. The disappointed place-hunters, who had borne a desultory and inglorious part in the campaign, had long been venting their plaints; and the better volunteers smarted under the sordid depreciation of their achievements by the baser Moderates, under a disgraceful attempt to blacken Bertani's character, under D'Azeglio's intemperate and inaccurate polemics. Garibaldi had been at Caprera all the winter, brooding over his dismissal, disappointed that the volunteers had dissolved so easily. He was still loyal to the King, and for the moment had abandoned his designs on Rome and Venice.¹ But, save at rare moments, he nursed his unreasoning hatred of Cavour; he talked of shaking the dust of Italy off his feet and going to America to fight in the Federal army.² His one fixed idea was to have an "armed nation," which would sooner or later put a million men into the field to fight for Venice and Rome. If the government would not frankly undertake the task, he asked that they should at least allow him and his friends to prepare the road; to mobilize a certain number of national guards, to organise rifle-practice, to form "Committees of

¹ Mario, *Mazzini*, 420-421; *Mazzini, Opere*, XIII. lxxix.

² A few months later, according to Guerzoni, *Garibaldi*, II. 275, he was offered the command of it.

Provision" to collect money and arms. Cavour accepted or tolerated all these schemes more or less,¹ and the work of the National Society might have been repeated, but for the friction on the question of the volunteers. Early in April Garibaldi left Caprera, and after a foolish speech at Genoa, which showed small respect either for King or parliament, he made an unexpected appearance in the Chamber (April 18), fantastically dressed in his red shirt, "looking," in the words of a French spectator, "like a prophet or an old comedian." There was general anxiety as to his intentions, and Ricasoli, convinced that publicity was the wiser course, questioned him as to the notorious speech, at the same time inviting the government to explain the recent order respecting the volunteers. When Fanti in reply studiously depreciated them, Garibaldi's pent-up anger escaped, and he broke into a wild, passionate attack on the government, accusing Cavour of all but causing civil war, and protesting that he would never take the hand of one, who had made him, a denizen of Nice, a stranger in his own land. The indignation of the Chamber interrupted him, but though next day he recovered his self-control, there was no breath of compromise in his speech. His folly had stirred a bitterness as great on the other side, and a slanderous letter, which Cialdini published a few days later, only voiced the anger of army and public. But when Garibaldi challenged his assailant to a duel, the saner heads on both sides felt that the unhappy incident must be closed. Garibaldi had brought his reputation as low as after the Romagna episode, and a wise policy recommended generosity and oblivion. Cavour was now, as always, ready to be reconciled; Medici and Bixio calmed Garibaldi, who felt his mistakes, and the King intervened to bring the protagonists together. Cavour and Garibaldi met (April 24), and though the interview was cold, it was courteous and sincere, and was followed by a warmer reconciliation with Cialdini. Garibaldi retired quietly to Caprera, and wrote a cordial letter to Cavour, accepting the French alliance, and praying for the arming of the nation, that all might work together to complete the liberation of Italy.

¹ Guerzoni, *Bixio*, 290-292; *Id.*, *Garibaldi*, II. 246-249.

No one expected the terrible blow that was to fall. Cavour had been much shaken by the episode, "it has poisoned me," he said. The heavy work of the past two years had undermined his constitution, he had for some time suffered from insomnia and head trouble. At the end of May typhoid developed itself, and the blunders of his doctors doomed him. His last hours were occupied with Naples and its problems, his last testament to his friends was to "provide for the disinherited of the South." In the "sublime delirium" that followed, he protested that there might be no state of siege at Naples, and his last words were "Italy is made, all is safe" (June 6). His country was stunned by the awful and sudden blow. Strong men were crying in the streets and in parliament; and Turin was silent and mourning, as if the plague had passed over the city. In the prime of life (for he was only fifty-one years old, and was born one year after Gladstone), his guiding hand was taken away, when his country most needed it. It is impossible to calculate from how much trouble his firm wise leadership would have saved his country, had he remained at the helm another twenty years. When a nation sails in smooth waters, it may be well that no single man may have such preeminence as Cavour had. But in a time of crisis and organic change, if one great man has risen to control a nation's destinies, her welfare must only too much hang on the single life. At the moment of Italy's triumph, destiny dealt her a staggering blow.

Cavour went to his grave with his work half done. No fair criticism would charge to his account the backwash that came after him. He made Italy, the inception, the inspiration were not his, but his were the consummate statesmanship, the unbending activity, the resourceful daring, that accomplished the seemingly impossible. The stain of dishonourable means tarnishes his memory, but he never played a double game, except when it seemed an unavoidable necessity to his great goal. And if he sometimes sacrificed to his political ends the bigger ends of truthfulness and honest dealing, he helped to create a national environment, where shams thrived less and a robust virtue was possible. Des-

potism, whether in a state or village, is ever the most fruitful parent of dishonesty, and Cavour made truth and straightforwardness easier in Italy to all time. And nothing can obscure the tolerant, genial, humane spirit, which had no room for pride or pettiness, which hardly ever allowed personal rancour to guide it, which, through all its devotion to Italy, never lost sight of the bigger welfare of humanity. Cavour has often been compared to Bismarck; but, however like their work, their methods had nothing in common, save in a common readiness to lie, when lying served their ends. But where Cavour's lies came singly, Bismarck's came in bundles. Cavour's mind was bigger, broader, juster, full of faith in humanity and freedom, of hate for tyranny and intolerance. It had none of Bismarck's scorn for others' rights, none of the cynicism, which in the name of lawless might built on the wreck of justice. Cavour brought Italy into being without a crime towards a sister nation, and had he lived, he might have done much to save Europe from the evil, which Bismarck's contagious influence has wrought.

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CHAPTER XXXV

RICASOLI

JUNE 1861—JANUARY 1862

RICASOLI PREMIER. NAPLES Ponza di San Martino ; Cialdini ; brigandage ; abolition of the Lieutenancies Ricasoli and Rome ; the petition of the Liberal priests ; Napoleon III. and Rome in 1861.

THE immediate need of the country was to find a successor to its dead leader. It was not true, as D'Azeglio said, that Cavour's practical dictatorship had created a void round him, for the events of the last two years had thrown his lieutenants into positions of tremendous responsibility, and on the whole they had risen well to them. But none had Cavour's master-touch, and the dead statesman had held the threads of the whole movement so completely in his hands, his prestige and grasp of the situation had been so preeminent, that it made his successor's task one of severest difficulty. Public opinion pointed at once to Ricasoli as the man best fitted to fill his place. The King would have preferred the facile Rattazzi, but it was impossible for Rattazzi to take office, while his great opponent's ashes were hardly cold, and the love of a nation was weeping over his grave. Farini's failure at Naples, Minghetti's defeat on the regional proposals had placed both temporarily under a cloud, while Ricasoli's fame was bright with the fresh record of his triumphant statesmanship in Tuscany. His strength marked him as a man, who might control the discords, his name was a guarantee for a straightforwardness, which promised a refreshing contrast to Cavour's obliquer methods. His known repugnance to be dragged at the Emperor's heels, his keenness to win Rome recommended him to the large section of nationalists, who had been restive under what they thought

